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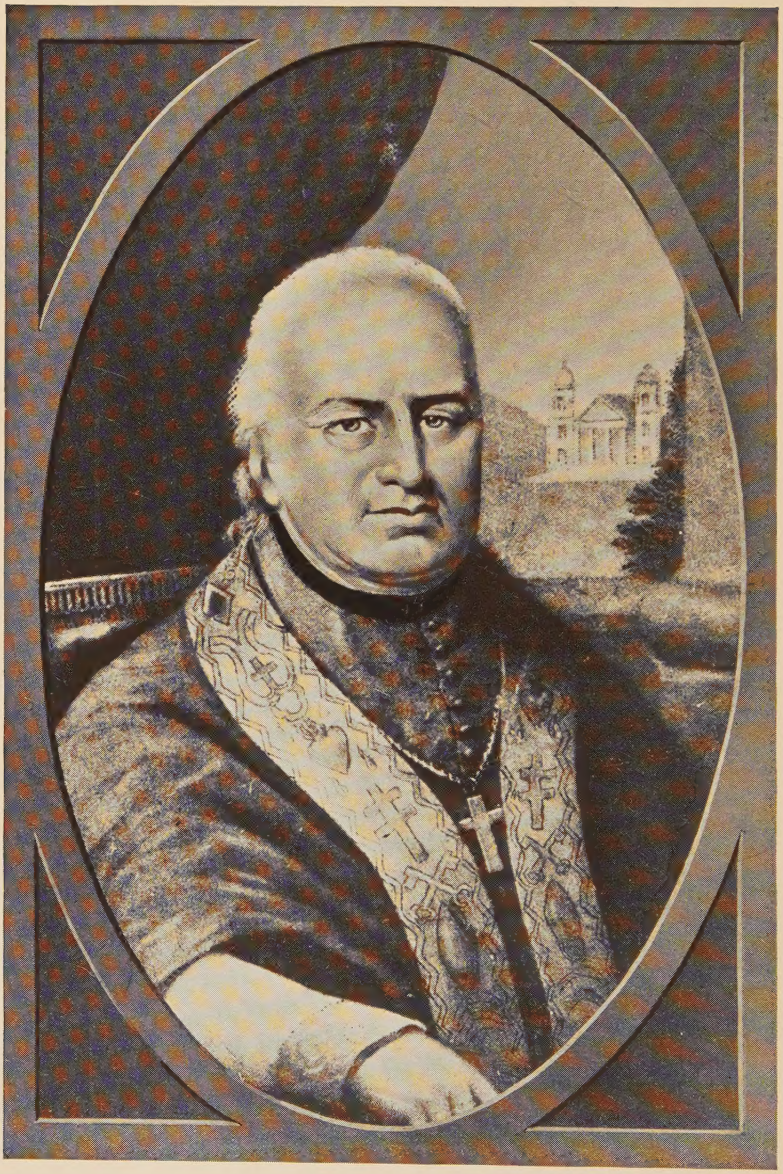

Archbishop John Carroll

# CATHOLIC BUILDERS OF THE NATION

*A Symposium on the Catholic Contribution to the Civilization of the United States*

*Prepared with Collaboration of*

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# FOREWORD

ADMIRAL WM. S. BENSON, LL. D., U. S. N. (RETIRED)

PROBABLY as part of the general intellectual stimulation that has attended the political developments of the last few years, there has been a decided awakening of interest in the part that was taken by those of the Catholic Faith in the building of this great nation of ours. Such interest, on the one hand, has developed among those of the Faith who have begun to realize more keenly than perhaps would have been possible for their co-religionists of former days, that notable service was rendered from the very outset in developing the moral, intellectual and material life within our ever-spreading frontiers by Catholic pioneers. On the other hand, our non-Catholic fellow citizens have been enough impressed by the account we have given of ourselves in recent days of stress and storm, to scrutinize our previous record more carefully and take into account factors heretofore overlooked.

The Catholic, like his fellow citizen of other religious affiliation, is to be found in every profession, in every trade and in every walk of life. The proportions vary widely and are determined by economic and geographical factors, just as is the choice of callings made by others. To an extent that is rather remarkable, when one takes into consideration the cost of education to those of moderate circumstances, a goodly proportion of the sons and daughters of Catholic families have been given, in all the years of the country's history, the benefits of higher education and professional training. The identification of the Catholic Church with all that is enduring and true in the work of

culture makes it ever a natural thing that her children should cultivate the classics, literature and the other elements of inspiration, which, in the last analysis, furnish the most telling diagnosis of a given period of civilization.

If it is a course wholly in harmony with the age-long tradition of the Church that many of her sons and daughters should aspire to the professions, and, by reason of thorough preparation, unremitting application and consistent probity, achieve substantial success therein, it is no less true that Catholic men and women surely have taken their share, and perhaps more, in the pioneer work of rendering the material surroundings in which we live and work better places to carry on the busy drama of American life.

Coming as they do from nearly all the races that have borne the heat and burden of the up-hill progress of civilization, those of the Catholic Faith who have settled in this country from the earliest colonial period down to our own day have had among them many men of physical strength and endurance, of mechanical aptitudes, of natural instinct for successful management of the soil, and of a readiness to meet and analyze every problem of construction, no matter how gigantic or exacting. When one thinks of the part played in the development of our great industries by Catholic engineers and foremen and laborers, he is led to reflect that the spirit of the Church in infusing devotion to the task before each one of us until Providence in His inscrutable wisdom shall assign us another, possesses perhaps a key to the successful solution of social problems that may outlast other more elaborate formulae. The railroads constructed in one generation or another to so large an extent with the aid of laborers of German, of Irish, of Italian, birth or descent, eloquently record the part that countless sons of the Catholic Church have taken in making possible the material prosperity of the country. In the maritime trades, in the great industries, textile, leather, chemical, metallurgical, in agriculture, one cannot

enumerate the leaders without finding a substantial proportion of members of the Catholic Church.

From these two great broad classes of human activity, the industries and material callings, on the one hand, and the professions and intellectually creative tasks, on the other, there have come into public life many Catholics applying the high ideals of the Church to the grave and pressing questions of public relations, both political and social, often mismanaged for lack of firm guidance based on a proper interpretation of our Christian ethical heritage. Then, too, many eminent men, often foremost members of that profession most respected in the eyes of all true sons of the Faith, the priesthood, have occupied positions of genuinely public character, even though they have not held official positions or public office; and by their precept and practice they have given inspiration even to thousands not of their religion, and have rendered invaluable service to the nation by their wise counsel and the rich fruit of their long experience in the study and guidance of human motives.

No complete survey of the work of those of the Catholic Faith in the building up of the material life and the professional and cultural ideals of this nation can be made. Obviously, the scantiness of records makes any approximation to completeness quite out of the question. Nevertheless, it is relatively easy to present some notion of the significance of their contribution to the development of the civilization of this republic through the judicious selection of typical characters and events.

Precisely this object appears to have guided the preparation of these volumes. The editors have not sought to give the work an encyclopedic scope, but they have aimed at bringing together a number of aspects of Catholic activity in the centuries before and after the Declaration of Independence with a view to showing how most situations in which human beings may find themselves, can be dealt with successfully only through the application of those

principles of conduct which the sturdy and right-thinking Catholic character finds possible. Exhaustive completeness, therefore, has not been aimed at so much as the formation with ample justification of a conviction that the part taken by those of the Catholic Faith has been an honorable, deserving and, we may fairly say, an indispensable one, in bringing the country that we love to her present stage of development. In the atmosphere which volumes of articles of this sort must create, there will in turn be developed a still keener appreciation of the value of encyclopedias, monographs and other reference books built on first-hand examination of the sources. On the basis of general impressions and deep-seated convictions such as this work may create, there ought surely result in the course of time a more widespread recognition of the need of cultivation by those of our Catholic sons and daughters, whose aptitudes permit, of the historical sciences and other agencies by which our contribution to the civilization of this country, and, for that matter, of all history, can be more clearly set forth and explained.

Within its limited scope this collection of pictures of what Catholics have done in the past decades of America's history should serve also to throw into greater relief, both the opportunities which our children will have in the future and the greater responsibility that will be theirs. The opportunities undoubtedly will arise, and as the mighty structure which now constitutes the nation expands and reaches maturity, still greater tasks will lie before the generations which take our place, and for their numbers those of the Catholic Faith will find before them greater and more attractive opportunities than their forefathers dreamed possible. Let them courageously and resolutely avail themselves of those opportunities and not be content with mediocre portions and the lesser part; but let them also bear in mind the fact that opportunity means responsibility and that in so far as they merit the placing of confi-

dence in them, just so far will the work of the world be entrusted to their care. "The back is fitted to the burden and the burden to the back." Those whose sense of probity, delicate appreciation of moral as well as written obligations and respect for the reputation of consistency of character combine to guide them in their public and private relations, in their professional or commercial work, even in their attitude towards Society and the State, will be the only ones to build a lasting and solid structure for either individual happiness or the general welfare.

We may congratulate those who undertook to bring together these suggestions of what the sons and daughters of the Catholic Church have done heretofore in the upbuilding of this nation, making all due allowance for the incompleteness of the survey as a whole or the limitations of any of its parts, for they have given us encouragement and ground for hope that the record in the twentieth century will far surpass even that of the nineteenth and preceding centuries.

W. S. BENSON.

# RELIGION AND CITIZENSHIP

WENDELL PHILLIPS STAFFORD, LL. D.

WHAT shall we do to be saved? That is a question which must be answered by nations as well as by men. And the solution is not one answer for a man and another for a State: the answer is the same for both. The Lord Jesus Christ, He is the way, the truth and the life for nations as well as for men. What is a nation? Browning gave us a fine definition when he wrote:

> "A people is but the attempt of many
> To rise to the complete life of one."

Unity—unity of purpose, effort and ideal, that is what makes a State. It is not a mere figure of speech to say that a nation has a personality of its own: it is the truth. A person it really and truly is, and as such it must be willing to be judged. And by what standard is it to be judged? By the standard that has been revealed to it, by its acceptance or rejection of the best that it has seen and known. "If I had not done among them the works which no other man did, they had not had sin." "If you had been blind, you had not had sin. But now you say, We see; therefore your sin remaineth." The more sublime our ideal, especially if we have espoused and proclaimed it, the greater our condemnation, if we betray or fall short of that ideal.

Where, then, does America stand? She occupies this perilously exalted place, that to her has come a vision of universal brotherhood, of equal rights and opportunities for all; and in the most solemn and explicit manner she has pledged herself to follow it. Woe is hers, then, if ever

she shall prove disobedient unto the heavenly vision. If she shall ever be condemned, it will not be by any arbitrary judgment imposed from without. It will be out of her own mouth because she has not been true to her own sublime creed and covenant, the Declaration of Independence. Not only has she declared those principles to be true and to be hers: she has declared them to be self-evident. More even than that, she has staked her existence upon them. In the hour of her peril she appealed to the Supreme Judge of the World to witness the rectitude of her intentions, and made her vow unto the Most High. And those principles were Christian principles, no matter whether she called them by that name or not. They are only one phase of the fundamental Christian doctrine, which has sometimes been a catch-phrase for demagogues, the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. By espousing them she has submitted herself to the judgment of mankind as a Christian nation.

Compared with the binding force of this obligation it is of little moment that she has not referred to the Bible or to the Church in her Constitution, nor that she has steadfastly refused to commit herself to any further statement of her religious creed. This conception of absolute equality between man and man, so far as rights are concerned, and the recognition of this truth as resulting from the divine truth that men were "so created," can be accounted for only by her acceptance of the teaching of Christ. Nowhere but in His teaching is such a doctrine, in its whole breadth and practical effect, to be found. The very words, "inalienable rights," which she has employed to characterize "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," are meaningless unless they refer to the divine origin of those rights. Such rights cannot be parted with, simply because they belong to men in the sight of God. Men cannot make right what God himself has made wrong. The divine will is thus impliedly recognized as the source of the

moral law, and the moral law is recognized as the foundation of all stable human law. It must be admitted, then, that whatever compromises with human weakness for the time being may be made or tolerated, there can be no permanent welfare for such a nation save in obedience to the divine will; there can be no fulfilment of her destiny save in a close and closer adherence to the truth she has here acknowledged and proclaimed.

The first seventy years under the Constitution of 1789 strikingly illustrates the truth with which we are now dealing. There was a conflict between the Declaration and the Constitution. The Declaration expressed the nation's ideal; the Constitution her compromise with the situation then existing. The Declaration "proclaimed liberty throughout the land and unto all the inhabitants thereof." The Constitution provided for the security of slave-holding. The two were utterly inconsistent. The collision between them made up the whole tragedy of our first century. We paid dearly, North and South alike, since both were guilty, for our betrayal of the truths we had acknowledged in the Declaration; and we found our first real union in the Amendments that made the Constitution and the Declaration really one. Who will say that in all this there was no such thing as divine guidance, no pricking of the conscience, no kicking against the goad—in short, no travail of spirit such as the soul of the individual man undergoes when he is chastened of God for his iniquities, and comes out of the fiery trial purified and reconciled unto his Maker?

Again I say, it is not a poet's fancy, it is not in a figure of speech, that these things are to be taken. They are the words of truth and soberness. The nation is an actual, living, personality, and that being true, she can be saved only on the same terms. Jesus Christ is the way, the truth and the life for nations no less than for men.

If America is ever to attain that primacy among nations which we fondly believe is to be hers, it will be because it

may be said of her: "Thou hast loved justice and hated iniquity; therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows." How can it be otherwise? To believe that there is any other road to safety and success, is to believe that the wages of sin is life and not death.

The nation of thirty years hence exists now. It is to be found in the childhood of the nation, the children of to-day. If these are being reared under wise and wholesome influences, in homes of chastity and obedience to law and veneration for high and holy things, the future, at least for another generation, is assured. But if the contrary is true; if their parents are impure and recognize no such thing as the sanctity of the home; if the marriage tie is a mockery; if they are taught or allowed to think that anything may be done which can be done safely; that no reverence is due to position, office, dignity, authority; that the men in jail are just as good as the men out of it, the only difference being that they have been less fortunate; that the Government is only a huge corporation with a lot of hired men and bosses, who live upon graft and make a pretence of patriotism, that really there is no such thing as patriotism, but every man is seeking his own ends in whatever he may be doing, and that least of all is there anything in religion beyond a vague sentiment, which finds a certain form of expression in one age and a different one in another—then, I say, it is not difficult, however unpleasant it may be, to forecast the character of the nation which our children, or our children's children, will behold.

Men of our time are so enamored of the theory or philosophy of evolution that it might have been expected that they would demand some explanation of existing institutions that squared with that hypothesis. If God did take untold millions of years instead of a single day to make man in His own image, one would think that the very length and costliness of the process might be looked upon

as adding dignity and significance to the final product. If the early stages of religious development were crude and savage, to fit the peoples of those ages; if God's revelation of His own character as well as of His own purpose was slow and gradual; if, first, a race had to be selected, then a nation to be chosen, set apart, trained and led, in order that therefrom He might bring forth a Mother worthy to bear His Son, the physical embodiment of the Divine Son himself; one would have supposed that scientific thought would recognize the wonderful analogy between evolution in the spiritual world and in the physical.

And if the development of Christian doctrine under the influence of a spirit of unparalleled love for the Father and the Son had proceeded with the fulness, sureness and sufficiency of a true evolutionary process, one might well wonder why, in an age like ours, explanations of such a fact should be sought in falsehood, trickery or superstition.

The fact that nations exist is, to one who reflects, fairly firm and satisfactory evidence that they answer a practical need of men and embody a social tendency if not a social ideal. The fact that an institution embodying the love and aspirations of men has spread itself over the entire world, and maintained its integrity through centuries, and lies athwart history as the one stupendous institutional fact of two milleniums, and to-day is cherished and served with a love and loyalty surpassing that which is paid to any human government whatever, this, one might have imagined, would entitle it to be approached and judged with a fair presumption in its favor, at least the presumption of having come into being in answer to some deep need of men, and to have survived *ex necessitate,* if that expression is to be preferred to *the will of God.*

But however that may be, we find the Church here, and we see it teaching and insisting upon exactly those things which the nation must have and must keep, if it is to endure. They are, first of all, the integrity and sanctity

of the family, the home, secured by a recognition of marriage as a union instituted and approved by God for the perpetuity of the race. If marriage is something more than a civil contract entered into to serve the interest and convenience of the parties; if it is the God-ordained way of securing the stability of nations and the purity and perpetuation of the human family itself, then we must go to Christian, Catholic teaching to find its meaning and to find the safeguards and sanctions that can keep it inviolate and sure.

If you can make a rope out of sand, you can, perhaps, make a nation out of individual men and women who recognize no obligation but follow only their own interests and desires. There never was a great nation that did not venerate the law. There can be no strength without cohesion; there can be no cohesion without law. Even pagan countries, like Sparta, had found this out long before the Christian era, and had left examples of devotion to the corporate ideal worthy of our imitation and almost of our despair. "Rejoice with me," cried the rejected Spartan, who had offered himself for some daring enterprise: "Sparta had fifty heroes stronger and braver than I!" When the question was put to the Spartan emissaries: "In whose name are you come?" they replied: "In the name of the State—if we succeed: if we fail, in our own." Set that heathen example beside the mottoes and maxims of a low-lived prudence, such as we hear so commonly about us: "The devil take the hindmost"; "Do unto others as others would do to you, and do it first," and so on, *ad nauseam*.

A nation may break down upon this test as well as upon any other. If its people cannot and will not put the welfare of the nation and the race, to say nothing of the command of God, above their own personal gratification or lust, in this matter of fidelity to the marriage tie, it does not deserve to live, and, depend upon it, it will not live long. For a nation, a real nation, a strong nation, is made out of

the sacrifices of its people. It is not merely the sacrifices made in war and in other times of national crisis; it is the habitual, daily and hourly sacrifice of the law-abiding citizen. Everyone who gives up something he desires for the sake of obedience to the law; everyone who endures some disagreeable experience or performs some distasteful task because it is her mandate, is helping to make his nation great and lasting; and if his deed is never known or sounded abroad, then to him is the greater blessing, even as Our Savior said of old.

Out of pure homes will come pure men and women. "Chastity is the conservation of the creative energy." Has womanhood gone mad? Is there a more disquieting symptom of popular morals to-day than one may observe by merely walking our streets? Are the pure men of the future to be bred out of these shameless bodies? And where is the ideal of chastity guarded, fostered, exalted, given the glory it deserves? Where, indeed, but among those followers of the Virgin-born who give unto His holy Mother the position which God's grace fixed for her from the beginning?

The very heart of citizenship is its attitude toward the State—what Saint Paul spoke of as "the powers that be." In nothing was early Christianity more singular than in this. Even when it was being persecuted unto death, it ceased not to pray for the stability and prosperity of the governmental order. It was not merely because Roman law was on the whole equitable and its administration reasonable and just. It was because the Christian recognized in it the power ordained of God for the maintenance of the social order. That was not to say that it was perfect, that changes might not be looked for, and hoped for; but that the citizen who enjoyed its protection was religiously bound to stand by it and to wish it well. Saint Paul reminded his followers that the magistrate bore the sword of justice for their sakes, not for his own. When it came to interference,

on the part of the civil power, with the Christian's duty to God and Christ, of course the Christian was inflexible. He simply refused to recognize the civil power as extending over that portion of his life. But while it kept within the legitimate bounds of its authority, he gave it not only the obedience due from all, but the reverence and prayer which the Christian alone knew how to give. And this is the attitude which the Church has maintained towards the State even until now. Nowhere is found a loyalty to the State more intense and general than among her children.

It is immaterial, in this view, that the majority of office-holders may be non-Catholic. It is the office, not the individual, that is bowed to, just as in the Church itself the office may be effectually administered even by one unworthy. It may well be asked whether a large part of the present disorder and want of respect for law and its officers is not due to the fact that men in general have lost this view of the State and this reverence for its foundation in God. Individualism finds that view irksome. It prefers to make it a personal matter, and to decide for itself whether the law in question ought to have been enacted, whether the decision is sound, whether the officer is worthy of obedience and respect. The Spartans, of whom mention has been made already, might have taught all such a salutary lesson, for they had, at least, the conception of law which we need to cling to and cultivate. When their ambassador to Xerxes was asked how the Greeks could hope to withstand his forces, being so few in number, and more especially as they were not obliged to stand and fight under any king, being, as he was told, free men, the Spartan made answer: "They have indeed a king; and such an one as says not one thing to one man and another to another—not one thing to-day and another thing to-morrow, but one and the same thing to each one, every day." "What is the name of this king?" asked the Oriental; and the Spartan answered, "Law." We have come a long way from Sparta

in many respects, but in some it might be profitable to retrace our steps.

Between Catholicism in religion and what might be called Catholicism in politics, there are not a few analogies. Our institutions are called popular because they are supposed to be based upon the popular consent and to express at all times the popular will; and this in turn is based upon a philosophy of government which assumes that the decisions of the majority will, in the long run, be right and safe, that it is never for the interest of the people, as a whole, that any injustice shall be done, that, give men education and a fair chance, they will in the mass be governed and led by the spirit of truth and justice.

Macaulay, as we all know, prophesied, in his famous letter to Randall, written in 1857, that this theory would prove to be false and fatal to the life of the republic—that it would work well enough as long as the public lands held out, but that when cities became congested and workers increased beyond the power of the State to satisfy them out of the public domain, and when competition reduced their wages, then the poor, worse than the hordes of Goths and Vandals, would sack the centres of wealth and bring our civilization tumbling about our ears. The passage has been quoted of late as a commentary upon the situation in which we find ourselves to-day under the threats of the labor unions. Many think that the greatest, or most imminent, peril we have to face is that of organized minorities, holding in their hands the necessaries of life by virtue of their control of essential industries. Without assuming in our turn the role of prophet, it is fair to note that this danger, if it exists, is also an instance of overcoming individualism. It corresponds with that spirit of schism which has wrought such havoc at various ages in the Church. Opposed to it is the great principle of unity, for which the Church stands. True Catholics will be as strong against civil schism as against religious schism. It is the will of

the whole that must have sway; the welfare of the whole that must be the final test.

But Christians, and more especially Catholic Christians, have this advantage in dealing with the age-long struggle between Capital and Labor; that the Church deals with the question in the spirit of brotherly love, embracing with the same arms the rich and the poor; teaching the right of property as well as the right of the individual to fair treatment; that the laborer is worthy of his hire and that the first fruits of his labor belong to him, as well as guarding the accumulated earnings of the past. Surely the Catholic Church with its great preponderance of the poor and lowly cannot be hostile to the just claims of those who labor with their hands. Neither can she, with her ancient traditions of steadfast loyalty to every right, recognized by law, countenance any assault upon legitimate vested rights. She never fails to turn the medal over and show the other side. It is only in such even-handed dealing that safety to the State is to be found. She desires the comfort and well-being of all, but she has never failed to impress upon her true believers the truth that difference in material things is no measure of, nor compensation for, difference in spiritual good. She cheers the poor by the thought of the approval of God, and she chastens and humbles the rich and proud by holding before their eyes the dangers of their state. At her altar-rail rich and poor meet on the same level, as slave and master did in the days of old. Moreover, those held up to the honor and emulation of her children are not the rich and mighty of earth, but the poor and humble of spirit. Her saints are of this company. If now and then a king or queen is found among them it is because they made themselves the servants of all.

She can have no sympathy with any theory of government that looks upon those who work with their hands as material to be exploited in favor of the rich. Neither can she approve any theory that looks upon such workers as

the only part of the people entitled to consideration. Despotism in either form is to be condemned. If workers choose to organize for the protection of their industrial interests, well and good. But when they seek to use their power as an industrial unit to dictate political action, they separate themselves from their fellows and assume a despotic attitude. Combination for political action is perfectly legitimate. All political parties are examples of the legitimate exercise of this fundamental and incontestable right. Combinations of workers for industrial action are legitimate. Every labor union is an example of that. But combinations formed for industrial action must not be turned aside to control political action in matters that concern us all alike. Workers may be entitled to say that they will not work unless they receive a certain wage, but they have no right to combine to say that they will not work unless a certain law is passed or unless a certain course of political action is adopted by the executive. That is an abuse of their power. A Christian citizenship must condemn it.

State Socialism falls under the ban of the Church, as her writers have clearly shown, because it assumes to make compulsory what can exist rightly only when it is voluntary. Men may give up their right to hold property and vest that right in a community, during their pleasure, if they see fit to do so. But they cannot be compelled to do it. A majority cannot compel a minority to do so. A majority cannot take away your property and still less your very right to hold property, merely because it is a majority. If the right to the pursuit of happiness means anything it certainly means that a man has a right to choose what work he will do and what calling he will follow, within such reasonable regulations in the interest of the public safety as are applicable to all citizens alike. But Socialism would deny this right and assign to each man his task. If the drones can be made to labor without resorting to some form of slavery, the method has never yet been pointed out.

Against Socialism, as against Anarchy, for different but equally sufficient reasons, religion sets its face. Both are inimical to the very idea of citizenship.

The principles upon which citizenship is based are thus seen to be, fundamentally, religious principles. More than that, they are Christian principles. More even than that, they are Catholic principles. If the State shall be saved from shipwreck in the stormy passage before it, this will be because a sufficient number of its members still believe in and resolutely adhere to those principles.

And finally, is it not equally clear that any hope of a world-citizenship must rest upon the same foundation? What hope can there be of an international union among nations, some of whom are governed by these principles while others are Socialistic, others Bolshevistic and others still are autocratic or even frankly despotic—in short while some are Christian and others are non-Christian? "Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers." "It is God who maketh men of one mind to dwell in a house," whether it be the house of a family or of a nation or of a union of nations. There can be no true union but in Him.

# NOTES ON RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

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IN 1829, being then seventy-eight years of age, with a record of long experience and study behind him, in an essay which he prepared for posthumous publication, James Madison said that the general principle of religious liberty was contained in the Virginia Bill of Rights of 1776. There, he explained, the authority of human laws was separated from the natural rights of man and the natural rights of man were "excepted from the grant on which all political authority is founded." He added: "They (the United States) have the noble merit of first unshackling the conscience from persecuting laws, and of establishing among religious sects a legal equality."

The purpose of this study is to see how the conscience was unshackled in America and the connection between religious liberty and the American Catholic Church.

## I

Constantine the Great, Anno Domini 312, before a battle with Maxentius, a few miles outside of Rome one bright afternoon saw a flaming cross in the heavens with the words in Latin above it, which signify in English, "In this sign wilt thou conquer." That night the Savior appeared to him in a dream and told him to take the Cross as his emblem and he had it emblazoned upon his banners. Success attended his arms, until his power was supreme in the Roman empire. The miracle of the cross in the sky has been given in various forms and explained in various ways. Some accept it as a vision and some explain it as a dream; but the fact is well attested by Constantine's biographer, Eusebius, and corroborated by others.

At Milan, in the year 313, Constantine issued a decree prescribing freedom of conscience in his empire. The text has been lost, but the substance and purpose are not disputed. It declared "that every man had a right to choose his religion and to practice it without discouragement from the State."

Constantine ruled over Pagans and Christians and protected both in the exercise of their religion. His decree did not contemplate a separation of Church and State, however; for that idea was entertained by no one, and least of all by an emperor whose authority over his subjects was unlimited. Constantine became more and more of a Christian as his reign progressed, and when he was dying he was baptized. He caused himself to be divested of his purple robes and died clothed in the white of a neophyte. This was on May 22, 337. His reign marked the first effort at religious freedom made in the Christian era.

## II

For the next thirteen centuries, from the time of Constantine until the time of George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, we search in vain for the record of any serious effort to establish freedom of conscience as a principle of organized society. The history of the world during this long period is the history of war and strife over religion. The power over a man's body and the avowed authority over his mind were lodged in the same hands. Every king claimed to rule by divine right and to be the defender of a faith. The greatest horrors of history were perpetrated in the name of religion. Thousands upon thousands of men were killed because they differed from other men in their conception of the duty they owed to their Creator. Pagans and Christians, Mohammedans and Jews, Christian sects against Christian sects, all fought to punish, tyrannize and kill. Every government had its religion, was a creature of that religion, and woe to those who refused to accept it as the

one true religion! Our imagination is appalled when we reflect upon the consequences of this effort to control by human means what is not controllable by human means. It is not alone that men were enslaved, imprisoned, tortured and killed because of their religious beliefs; that is bad enough; but we must think also of the large number who, to escape persecution, pretended to embrace religious beliefs which their consciences told them were false. Thus denying their God they sank to a moral degradation which, happily for themselves, the lower animals cannot reach. For every one of the saints and martyrs who suffered for conscience' sake, there must have been thousands of cravens who sinned as men alone can sin.

III

George Calvert was private secretary to Lord Cecil, clerk of the Crown for the Province of Connaught and County Clare in Ireland and clerk of the privy council. James I knighted him in 1617. In 1619 he became principal Secretary of State; later he was commissioner for the office of Treasurer; in 1621 he was a member of Parliament from Yorkshire, and in 1624 from Oxford. In 1624 he announced his conversion to the Catholic religion and resigned his secretaryship. The King, however, created him First Lord Baltimore in 1625, and in 1628 gave him a vast territory in America. He went to Avalon, Newfoundland, to establish a colony, but the climate was too severe and he returned to England. He then planned another settlement in a more temperate region and was drawing up a charter for its government when he died. His son, Cecil Calvert, succeeded to his title and his plans. In 1632 the King gave Cecil Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, the charter which he had intended to give to his father, and created him "absolute Lord of Maryland and Avalon." Cecil sent his brothers Leonard and George with 300 laborers to settle Maryland in 1633, and made Leonard

governor of the Province. Under the terms of his charter Cecil Calvert had the power of a bishop "subject to one condition; namely, that it should not be such as would prejudice the true Christian religion or allegiance to the Crown." Baltimore and his father had written this charter and Baltimore was free to construe its meaning. He exercised the authority conferred on him by declaring freedom of religious worship for all settlers in his colony. It was objected by some of his co-religionists that his plan was too liberal, so he submitted it to Father Blount, the Provincial of the English Jesuits, who supported him in it. This was in 1632. The First Assembly in Maryland (1637) passed an "Act for Church Liberties," which said: "Holy Church within this Province shall have and enjoy all the Rights, Liberties and Franchises wholly and without Blemish." No definition was given of Holy Church. It was intended that every one should define it to suit himself. In 1636 the Government had prescribed an oath for officials, a part of which read:

> I will not, by myself or any other, directly or indirectly, trouble, molest, or discountenance any person, professing to believe in Jesus Christ, for, or in respect of, religion; but merely as they shall be found faithful and well-deserving; my aim shall be public unity, and if any person or officer shall molest any person, professing to believe in Jesus Christ, on account of his religion, I will protect the person molested and punish the offender.

Further, a proclamation forbade "unseasonable disputations in point of religion, tending to the disturbance of the public peace and quiet of the colony, and to the opening of faction in religion." And under this order one William Lewis, a Catholic, was fined 500 pounds of tobacco for "interfering by opprobrious reproaches with two Protestants."

In 1638 Maryland passed an act requiring that all laws should be "equally enforced against and concerning all persons, lay and ecclesiastical, without distinction, exemption,

or privilege of any"—that is to say, the clergy should enjoy no special privileges.

All of these things were done by Catholics. Calvert's gentlemen were the Government of Maryland. The workingmen whom he had sent over did not have a voice in the government. Most, or many of them were Protestants. There were actually more Protestants than Catholics in the colony. The Catholics, therefore, were protecting not their own freedom of worship, for that was assured, but the freedom of worship of Protestants.

A Catholic Assembly, urged by Lord Baltimore, passed the Toleration Act in 1649. It protected all persons "professing to believe in Jesus Christ" in the free exercise of their religion. The oath of fidelity prescribed in 1650 for each resident required him to declare for liberty of conscience in matters of religion for himself and all other persons.

It is a pity that the record does not stop here, but the truth requires us to go a step further. In 1654, Protestants having obtained control in Maryland, repealed the Toleration Act of 1649, and by later acts Catholics were disfranchised. By 1692 the Church of England was established as the State religion, in the colony dedicated by its founders to religious freedom.

The freedom of religion of Catholic Maryland extended only to Christians. It was not, therefore, complete; but, as a matter of fact, there were none in the colony who were not Christians.

## IV

Roger Williams was the opposite of the Calverts in nearly every way. They were of the gentry and he was the son of a tailor. They were rich and he earned a living working with his hands. They were Roman Catholics and he was a Calvinistic Protestant. By avocation he was a preacher. Doubtless he held all Papists in abhorrence.

Like other Puritans he was attracted to New England by its congenial religious atmosphere. He landed in Massachusetts on February 5, 1631. As a "Godly Minister" and a member of the Church which ruled the colony, he was welcomed. Already it was the law that no one should be admitted to the body politic of Massachusetts Bay unless he was a member of its Church. Williams, however, with all his rigid religious views had one dominating thought. He held that religion could not be controlled by the temporal power; consequently, the State had no right to prescribe what religion a man must follow. Announcing these views, Massachusetts Bay was no place for him, and he went to Plymouth Colony where religious questions were not quite as exacting. There he preached for two years. He returned to the Bay in 1633, but soon fell under the displeasure of the General Court, because he made this announcement:—"that the Civil Magistrates' power extends only to the bodies and goods and outward state of men." He was banished from Massachusetts Bay October 9, 1635. Going to Rhode Island he founded Providence in 1636 with a very small band of followers, and they formed a voluntary government "only in civil things." His colony was increased by recruits fleeing from religious persecution in Massachusetts Bay. By 1641 they had an organized government with a provision for "liberty of conscience in point of doctrine."

By 1644 Williams had a charter in which the colonists were given "full power to rule themselves as they shall by free consent agree unto." This was a "Charter of civil incorporation"; it granted no power over religion. The Rhode Islanders enjoyed "freedom of different consciences to be protected from enforcements"; this was the principle of their charter. There was no law to punish any for declaring "their minds and understanding concerning the things and ways of God, as to salvation and eternal condition." As Williams said, "Persecutors of men's bodies

seldom or never do the men's souls good." Williams's charter was adopted by Providence Plantations in 1647. There was free exercise of religion in Providence Plantations from the time of Williams's settlement in 1636 and it was the law from 1647. At the time and for some years after there was not one Catholic in the colony.

At a later period a law was passed against Catholics. In the Volume of Laws for 1719 is a statute providing that all men professing Christianity, though of different judgments in religious matters, "Roman Catholics alone excepted," shall have liberty to choose and be chosen to offices both civil and military. This act was not repealed till 1783.

V

The "Simple Cobbler of Agawam," the Reverend Nathaniel Ward, writing about New England in 1645 says:

> Here is lately brought us an extract of a Magna Charta, so called, compiled between the sub-planters of a West Indian Island; whereof the first Article of constipulation, firmly provides free stable-room and litter for all kinds of consciences, be they never so dirty or jadish, making it actionable, yea, treasonable, to disturb a man in his Religion, or to discommend it, whatever it be.

In another page the "Simple Cobbler" goes on to declare:

> It is said, That men ought to have Liberty of their Conscience, and that it is Persecution to debarre them of it. I can stand amazed, then reply to this: It is an astonishment to think that the brains of men should be parboyl'd in such impious ignorance.

This is enough to show that when the "Cobbler" wrote, religious liberty was known to those who were opposed to it.

The West Indian Island from which had come up a Magna Charta which accorded stable room to all consciences was probably the English colony of Barbados, the prop-

erty of the second Lord Carlisle; he had rented it to Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, but there was contention over the possession between the King's men and those of the Commonwealth. It was during this contention, evidently, that the constipulation for freedom of religion was brought forward. It did not take official form until 1652, when Commissioners on the part of Willoughby and on the part of the Commonwealth made the following agreement:

> 1. That a liberty of conscience in matters of religion be allowed to all, excepting such tenets as are inconsistent to a civil government; and that laws be put in execution against blasphemy, atheism, and open scandalous living, seditious preaching, or unsound doctrine sufficiently proved against him.

This is a liberal provision for the time, as liberal as the Maryland acts. It had made an impression in the mainland. It must be admitted to the group of acts which mark the advance in the idea of religious liberty.

The record, then, is reasonably clear. The Catholic Calvert and the Protestant Williams brought their views of religious freedom to America almost at the same time. Calvert's laws preceded Williams's Charter by a few years, and both by a few years the constipulation between Cavaliers and Puritans in Barbados.

In the years which intervened before the founding of the American Commonwealth in 1776, efforts were made in several of the colonies to establish religious liberty, but they were nowhere successful. In some of the colonies the English Church was established; in all, rights of conscience were restricted. We have seen that Rhode Island, supposed to be so free, barred Catholics from office. In 1664 the Duke of York, a Catholic, ordered that there should be freedom of religion in his Province of New York, and it existed there for a time. It was there in 1687 when Dongan, a Catholic, was governor. But after the Revolution in England, Catholics were not allowed to hold office in New York. They were under the ban in New Jersey

also. "You are to permit," said Queen Anne to the governor in 1702, "a liberty of conscience to all persons (except Papists)." The Charter of Georgia used the same language in 1732. Pennsylvania should be an exception, but it was not. From 1702 up to the time of the Revolution in 1776 no Catholic could hold office, because all office-holders were required to take the British test oath, which expressly abjured Catholic doctrines.

The first Continental Congress, that of 1774, on October 14, adopted a resolution which enumerated among other things which violated the rights of the colonists what was known as the Quebec Act. This was an Act of Parliament which declared that the residents of the Province of Quebec "professing the religion of the Church of Rome" might "enjoy the free exercise of the religion of the Church of Rome, subject to the King's supremacy."

The Address to the people of Great Britain which this Congress issued, said that the Parliament of Great Britain was not authorized to establish "a religion fraught with sanguinary and impious tenets." There can be no doubt that the temper of this Congress was a faithful reflection of the feeling of the people of the American colonies at the time. When the Congress met the following year a change had come over the spirit of America, for she had now resolved upon independence. She was hearing radical speakers; she was talking and thinking much of liberty; she was falling under the sway of her great thinkers, men of enlightened views, leaders who were directing the popular revolt into channels of great principles. An army was formed; that was proof of the revolt. The Commander-in-Chief ordered his soldiers to respect the religious views of all men; that was the declaration of a great principle. The leaders were statesmen. They had no idea that the bigotry of some men should be allowed to weaken and jeopardize the American cause. They wished to enlist in that cause the very Canadians whom the Congress of 1774 had described

as belonging to a "religion fraught with sanguinary and impious tenets." In general orders to the Army, November, 15, 1775, General Washington forbade the observance of Pope's Day, which it appears was a mock ceremonial, like Guy Fawkes Day, occurring in the autumn. An effigy of the Pope was borne in procession and burned with riotous proceedings. These celebrations took place in New England, and the soldiers stationed in that region conceived the idea of enjoying a rough holiday by a Pope's Day of their own. General Washington's orders said:

> The Commander-in-Chief cannot help expressing his surprise that there should be officers and soldiers in this army so void of common sense as not to see the impropriety of such a step at this juncture; at a time when we are soliciting, and have really obtained, the friendship and alliance of the people of Canada, whom we ought to consider as brethren embarked in the same cause, the defense of the liberty of America. At this juncture, and under such circumstances, to be insulting their religion, is so monstrous as not to be suffered or excused; indeed, instead of offering the most remote insult, it is our duty to address public thanks to these our brethren, as to them we are indebted for every late happy success over the common enemy in Canada.

Other evidences of liberal feeling towards Catholics followed. Among the French officers who came over early in the war to enter the Army was Thoron du Coudray, a Catholic, and Congress commissioned him as a captain in the Army. He was drowned in the Schuylkill in September, 1776, and the Continental Congress attended his funeral at Saint Joseph's Catholic Church in Philadelphia. Two years later came the alliance with Catholic France and the arrival of many officers and soldiers who were Catholics and who must be treated as honored guests. At the invitation of Gerard, the French minister, Congress attended a *Te Deum* July 4, 1779, at the Catholic Chapel in Philadelphia. In 1780 Don Juan de Miralles, the Spanish agent, died, and Congress in a body attended a high requiem Mass.

On October 20, 1780, Benedict Arnold issued a proclamation asking other Americans to join him in his treason.

"Do you know," he said, "that the eye which guides this pen lately saw your mean and profligate Congress at Mass for the soul of a Roman Catholic in purgatory and participating in the rights of a Church against whose anti-Christian corruptions your pious ancestors would have witnessed with their blood?" It did not harm the Catholics to be vilified by a hated man.

On May 11, 1784, Congress having received from Franklin papers relative to the appointment by the Pope of a Vicar-Apostolic in America, replied:

> That Dr. Franklin be desired to notify to the Apostolic Nuncio at Versailles, that Congress will always be pleased to testify their respect to his sovereign and State; but that the subject of his application to Dr. Franklin being purely spiritual, it is without the jurisdiction and powers of Congress who have no authority to permit or refuse it, these powers being reserved to the several States individually.

Ten years earlier Congress, as we have seen, was testifying anything but respect for the Pope. The leaders of thought were not afraid now to express respect for Catholics. Writing to Edmund Randolph, July 23, 1782, giving European news, James Madison stated as a cause of rejoicing that the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland had assented to "an Act of Parliament for emancipating the Catholics from the shackles on their religious rights and on their tenure of real property."

The American Envoy at Paris, Benjamin Franklin, saw no harm in conferring with the Papal Nuncio at that capital on affairs of the Catholic Church in America, and when he was asked if John Carroll would be an acceptable Bishop, replied that he would, and John Carroll was named. There were still many illiberal men in the land, but there was an ever increasing number who felt as Washington, Madison and Franklin felt. There were several reasons for the liberal attitude—policy, which prompted America to seek the friendship of Catholic Canada, France and Spain; a closer and favorable view of Catholics in the French Army and

Navy; the general spread of enlightenment which had come with the announcement of high sentiments of freedom, and finally the patriotic attitude of the American Catholics themselves. The most important manifestation of the spirit of enlightenment was the adoption by the largest, richest and most influential of the colonies, the Commonwealth of Virginia, in 1776, of a Bill of Rights.

VI

In the Virginia Convention of May, 1776, George Mason of Gunston Hall introduced a Bill of Rights. The last clause of his draft read as follows:

> That religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence; and therefore, that all men should enjoy the fullest toleration in the exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience, unpunished and unrestrained by the magistrates, unless under colour of religion any man disturb the peace, the happiness or safety of society. And that it is the mutual duty of all to practice Christian forbearance, love and charity towards each other.

This was the most comprehensive pronouncement for religious liberty that had thus far been offered.

"Religion or the duty which we owe to our Creator" was under reason and conviction and could not be directed by force or violence; the exercise of religion must be unrestrained by the civil government; and full toleration must be granted in religion. The clause as it stood would not, however, have prevented a tolerant State religion. The great defect in the draft was the use of the word toleration. As Mirabeau said twenty-three years later:

> The most unlimited liberty of religion is in my eyes a right so sacred that to express it by the word "toleration" seems to me itself a sort of tyranny, since the authority which tolerates may also not tolerate.

James Madison was one of the youngest members of the Virginia Convention. He participated in the proceed-

ing only once; that was when he proposed the following amendment to Mason's draft of the religious liberty clause of the Bill of Rights:

> That religion, or the duty we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, being under the direction of reason and conviction only, not of violence or compulsion, all men are equally entitled to the full and free exercise of it, according to the dictates of conscience; and, therefore, that no man or class of men, ought, on account of religion, to be invested with peculiar emoluments or privileges, nor subject to any penalties or disabilities unless under colour of religion, the preservation of equal liberty and the existence of the State be manifestly endangered.

Here was the thing itself; here was a declaration that complete freedom of conscience was a right. All men were equally *entitled* to the full and free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience; there was to be no enjoyment by persuasion or toleration of this right. Nor could there be an establishment by the State of any set of men having privileges over other men because of their religion. Religion was not to be placed *under* the law but to be *above* the law.

If Madison's amendment had been adopted as it stood there would have been no occasion for Thomas Jefferson's bill for religious liberty, which was passed ten years later. But the Virginia Convention was not prepared to go the whole lengths of his proposition. They took a part of it, however, and that an important part. They declared that all men were entitled to the free exercise of religion, and eliminated the word toleration. The clause thus amended which became the fundamental law of the State reads as follows:

> That religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, and therefore all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience; and that it is the mutual duty of all to practice Christian forbearance and charity towards each other.

This was a tremendous advance over any formal act

for religious liberty that had been taken up to this time. Standing by itself it excepted from the civil authority all authority over religion. Unhappily, it enjoined the duty of "Christian" forbearance and charity. It just missed being complete. A few years after it was adopted a bill was introduced in the Virginia Legislature providing for a tax to support teachers of the Christian religion. If it had passed clergymen would have enjoyed peculiar emoluments and there would have been a conflict in defining who were Christian teachers. By the exertions of Madison and several other enlightened men it was defeated, and on the defeat in 1786 Jefferson's bill was carried through. The pith of Jefferson's bill was: "That no man should be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place or ministry, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burdened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinion or belief," another way of expressing what Madison's amendment had said.

The Virginia clause and the Virginia bill became the models for the other States. Somewhat reluctantly in some cases, but eventually in all cases, the States unshackled the conscience from persecuting laws and all religious sects stood upon a legal equality.

We must understand what the Virginians were trying to do. George Mason, James Madison and their colleagues who passed the Bill of Rights were religious men; they were as religious as Calvert and Williams, although they were neither Catholics nor Calvinists. Whether or not Thomas Jefferson was a religious man we need not consider, for he had no part in drafting the religious liberty clause of the Bill of Rights, but there was never a question of George Mason's strong religious convictions, and whatever Madison's views may have become at a later period of his life, it is a fact that when he proposed his amendment to the Bill of Rights he was steeped in religion. He had studied only under clergymen. His father and mother were pious

church people. At this time he disclosed so strong a leaning towards religious subjects that he was suspected of an intention of becoming a clergyman.

Further on in the nation's life many people may have favored freedom of religious worship because they were indifferent to religious worship, but this was not the case when the principle of religious freedom was announced. Madison and Mason sought not alone to separate Cæsar and God, but to place the duty we owe to our Creator beyond the reach of Cæsar's power.

George Mason was a delegate to the Federal Convention of 1787, but he refused to sign the Constitution. His chief objection to it was that it did not contain a Bill of Rights. When the ratification was under debate in the States there was a general feeling that the objection was well grounded, so in the first Congress that met under the Constitution certain declaratory amendments were proposed and soon ratified by the States and became a part of the fundamental law. One of the amendments was as follows:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

So far as the Federal Government was concerned, so far as the nation as a whole could be reached by Federal law, religious liberty was now an accomplished fact.

## VII

I have said that one of the reasons for the growth of a friendly feeling towards Catholics in the United States was the patriotism which they displayed in the Revolution, and by none was this devotion to country more intelligently shown than by John Carroll, a Jesuit priest, a native American. He was a brother of Daniel Carroll, who was a member of the Continental Congress in 1782, a signer of the Constitution five years later, a leader in the plans for independence of Maryland, and a cousin of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, who signed the Declaration of Independence and

stood in the front rank of American patriots. He was allied with other influential American families, and was himself officially employed by the American Government even before independence had been declared. On February 15, 1776, Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Chase and Charles Carroll were appointed by the Continental Congress commissioners to go to Canada and solicit the adherence of the Canadians to the American cause, and by formal resolution the Congress requested Charles Carroll to ask John Carroll to go with them. His service was official, for he was paid $372 for the expenses of the trip. The Commissioners did not succeed in their mission. Benjamin Franklin fell ill, and John Carroll and he returned to Philadelphia in advance of the others. Franklin recorded his gratitude for the care Father Carroll had taken of him and said he could hardly have reached home without his help. This was Carroll's only official service.

John Carroll's early education was received in Maryland; then he studied at Saint Omer, in French Flanders, thence he went to college at Liége, where he was ordained a priest in 1769. He was a teacher at Saint Omer, Liége and Bruges, and by 1771 was a Professed Father in the Jesuit Order. By the time he came back to America he had suffered not only because he was a Catholic, but from Catholics because he was a Jesuit. His sense of the forces at work in America had that correctness which came from sympathy with them. He was a great force in establishing the Catholic Church in America upon a firm basis and in advancing the cause of religious liberty itself. He saw that the Church in America must be American; that the Free Commonwealth which had been founded upon the inalienable rights of the individual man must include in it a Catholic Church which should accept the spirit of the new country joyfully and become a part of it. He saw that this new country would control its own future and would not tolerate dominance from any other power. He was a part

of the struggle for independence of his country and his Church, and it was he who linked the two together.

In 1783 John Carroll, John Lewis, Bernard Diderich, Ignatius Matthews and James Walton, missionary priests residing, as they said, in the "Thirteen United States of North America," sent a petition to the Pope which recited that they were "placed under the recent supreme dominion of United America" and could no longer have recourse for spiritual jurisdiction to the Bishops and Vicars-Apostolic residing in foreign States, nor recognize any one of them as their ecclesiastical superior without open offense to this supreme civil magistracy and political government, wherefore they wished that the power of granting the necessary faculties to priests coming into America might be given to some priest who was resident in America. John Carroll sent this and another memorial to a friend in Rome, and said:

> You are not ignorant that in these United States our religious system has undergone a revolution, if possible, more extraordinary than our political one. In all of them free toleration is allowed to Christians of every denomination; and particularly in the States of Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland and Virginia, a communication of all civil rights, without distinction or diminution, is extended to those of our religion. This is a blessing and advantage which is our duty to preserve and improve, with the utmost prudence, by demeaning ourselves on all occasions as subjects zealously attached to our Government and avoiding to give any jealousies on account of any dependence on foreign jurisdiction more than that which is essential to our religion, an acknowledgment of the Pope's spiritual supremacy over the whole Christian world.

Carroll was himself named Prefect-Apostolic June 9, 1784, and the jurisdiction of the Vicar-Apostolic at London over the Catholics in America was at an end. Nevertheless, Carroll was dissatisfied, for the Church in America was still classed as a mission.

> I consider, he said in a memorandum which he wrote at this time, I consider powers issued from the Propaganda, not only as improper, but dangerous here. The jealousy in our Government of the interference of any foreign jurisdiction is

> known to be such, that we cannot expect, and in my opinion, ought not to wish that they would tolerate any other than that which being purely spiritual, is essential to our religion, to wit, an acknowledgment of the Pope's spiritual supremacy, and of the See of Saint Peter being the centre of the ecclesiastical unity. The appointment, therefore, by the Propaganda of a superior for this country, appears to be a dangerous step, and by exciting the jealousy of the Government here, may tend much to the prejudice of religion, and perhaps expose it to the reproach of encouraging dependence on a foreign power and giving them an undue influence by having with them a prerogative to nominate to places of trust and real importance, and that "ad suum beneplacitum." The Congregation of the Propaganda, if I understand its institution, was formed only for the government and superintendence of missions, etc.

It had been proper to call the Church in America a mission up to the present time, but it was now in reality a Church in an independent nation and should itself be independent.

How earnestly he embraced the spirit of the time is shown by an observation he made in 1784 in the course of a pamphlet war which he waged with Dr. Charles Henry Wharton. He said, he would not have written against Wharton if he had believed that his doing so "would disturb the harmony now subsisting amongst all Christians in this country, so blessed with civil and religious liberty."

Carroll accepted the designation of Vicar-Apostolic believing that the next step would be the one he so earnestly advocated and that America would have a bishop of her own. In due season this came about and he was the bishop. His letters of appointment are dated November 6, 1789. Thus the request for the independent Church was made in the same year with the accomplishment of American independence (1783) and the independent Church began its career in the same year with the American Constitution (1789).

# RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

G. A. Sherwell, Ph. D.

## I. Historic Antecedents

*A. Conquest, Conversion and Civilization.*—Isabel, the Catholic Queen of Castile, on taking under her protection Columbus's dreams, which were to become the most wonderful realities of the history of human achievements, had in mind, not the material gains which appealed to her husband, worried on account of the impoverished Spanish treasury following the war against the Moors, but the conquest of souls for the kingdom of Jesus Christ.

Protected by a pious queen, helped by priests and monarchs, inspired by the most fervent religious zeal, Columbus set sail, with the consciousness that he was fulfilling a mission in which God had more to do than human interests. America was born as the result of Catholic effort, and in its creation, its formation, its most essential characteristics, in the very soul of its history and in the very essence of its life, it is a Catholic achievement. In the greater part of this continent, Catholicism and social life form a single concept, and in the other part Catholicism, if it has not sowed the first germs of life, has produced the most beautiful and the most noble national features. Placed under the protection of the Virgin Mother, under the advocacy of the Immaculate Conception or of our Lady of Guadalupe or under any other name, America can never dissociate herself from the Catholic conception of social life.

The conquest of New Spain was not yet achieved when the priests who came with the conquerors were organizing their noble work of evangelization and civilization of the

country. One of the first steps of Cortés was to notify Montezuma, the Mexican emperor, upon the first day of his arrival in the City of Tenoxtitlán (Mexico), that he would not tolerate any idolatrous practices. "What I came to tell to you from our God is that we adore an only true God, and that those you consider gods are only devils, which are very evil, and if their appearances are bad, their deeds are worse." He finished by saying that the soldiers would not carry out the change of religion, but that the work would be performed by other men "who live more saintly than we."

The first Franciscan missionaries sent to New Spain were Belgians: John Van Tacht, confessor of Charles V and for fourteen years professor of the Sorbonne; John of Aora, which name was interpreted by the eminent Father Cuevas of Mexico as Van Aar; and the greatest of the three, if not of all who came to America, Friar Peter Van den Moere, who signed his name as Pedro de Mura and was called Pedro de Gante, having been born in the city of Ghent. He was closely related to Charles V, and though the exact relationship is not known, some believe he was the Emperor's brother, but it is more probable that he was his cousin. The act of sending three men who numbered among the best that could be found in Europe to do the work of Christianizing and civilizing the inhabitants of New Spain shows how important this work was considered by the Emperor. The capital of the Aztec Empire fell in 1521. In April, 1522, these three missionaries left Ghent, and in May, 1523, sailed from Spain. In August of the same year they were in their field of work.

While they were accompanying Cortés towards Central America the companions of Gante shortly lost their lives. He with other friars who arrived subsequently in the New World, were distributed in nine monasteries located at considerable distances one from the other, some as far as 150 miles, and their entire time was devoted to the work

of conversion and civilization. Said Gante: "My occupation is to preach and to teach day and night. During the day I teach reading, writing and singing; at night I read the Christian doctrine and I preach it." In Mexico he had over 500 Indian boys whom he instructed in the Catholic Faith and of whom fifty were selected to preach every Sunday sermons prepared by the friars, at times traveling as many as forty or sixty miles. In a letter written in June, 1529, Gante tells of the establishment of 100 houses devoted to the service of God and to the destruction of idols and of the need he had of help to continue his good work.

Gante died in 1572. His funeral was the occasion of great public homages, at which the official as well as the private elements were present. This seems to indicate the recognition of what the country owed to the man who was really its father. In the middle of the nineteenth century, the Chapel of Saint Joseph in the City of Mexico, where the body of the venerable Gante lies, was given by the Government to North American Protestants to hold their services. These two facts, the burial of Gante and the profanation of the sacred place where his body lies, are the best summary of the history of the relations between the State and the Church in Latin America.

More Franciscans and other missionaries were sent, and the good work continued. On June 26, 1523, Charles V wrote to Cortés the Conqueror, instructing him to take good care of the conversion of the natives; and, considering the Indians of Mexico of a culture superior to that of those of the other lands up to that time discovered, he stated:

> I intrust and command you, with all my power, to have a special care of the conversion and instruction of the Indians of those regions and provinces which are under your government * * * On your part, work as much as you can in this world, so that the native Indians of New Spain may become converted to our Holy, Catholic Faith, instructed

> in it so that they can live as Christians and be saved * * * It seems that such Indians have ways and reason to live in an orderly manner in their towns; and you should induce them to do so, making them acquire good habits and a good order of life * * * God our Lord made those Indians free and not subjects, and we cannot with clear conscience distribute them among the Christians * * * I command you * * * to permit them to live freely as our subjects live in this our Kingdom of Castile.

Public business and religious life were so closely connected that it is not possible to speak of one without mentioning the other. In New Spain the work of educating the Indians was undertaken by the missionaries with the utmost care. Friar Juan de Zumárraga, first Bishop of Mexico, founded the first university in that country, which was one of the earliest on the continent. He also introduced the printing press, the first in America. The University of Mexico was established with all faculties in 1533.

Within the patios adjoining the churches, in the open air, children gathered in large numbers, as many as 800 or 1000, and there were instructed in the Christian Doctrine, reading, writing, singing and the playing of musical instruments. Trades were also taught them. A selection was made of the boys displaying the greatest aptitude, and a college was established for them in the City of Mexico. Spanish grammar was taught, and the Indians learned it better than the Spanish students. So apt were the Indians in acquiring knowledge that many of them became teachers, even of the Spanish. As Father Cuevas[1] says, the Indian race produced teachers for its conquerors without giving rise to any jealousies among them. Some Indians spoke Latin perfectly, and their learning went so far as to inspire fear, so new to them was the Christian doctrine, that they would be easily led to take as sound some of the pagan doctrines.

Colleges were instituted in the provinces. The most

[1]"Historia de la Iglesia en Méjico," 1921, p. 388 and following.

celebrated of them was the College of San Nicolás, in the Diocese of Michoacán, where the Bishop established rules which were copied in Europe. Education was free. The Bishop, Don Vasco de Quiroga, ordered: "Let the Christian Doctrine and reading and writing be taught also to all the sons of the natives who go there to hear and to learn our language and to teach their own language to those of our race. Let it all be free as well." Thus, the conquerors were making not only a blending of races, but a merging of culture, creating a new nationality, the symbol of which was the Virgin of Guadalupe, who appeared to an Indian soon after the conquest. Her face bears the features of a new race—not that of the conquering Spaniard, nor that of the conquered Indian, but of the race that was to be formed from the melting of the two.

The fact that some of the *encomenderos*[1] were cruel, coupled with the exaggerations of Friar Bartolomé de las Casas, who did not remain in New Spain long enough to become thoroughly familiar with existing conditions, has given basis to the accusation of inhumane exploitation of the Indians, carried even to the worse degradation of slavery. Charles V prohibited the distribution of Indians among the Spaniards and decreed that upon the death of the *encomenderos* their Indians should become the property of the Crown. This seemingly good measure would have produced the most evil results. Friar Juan de Zumárraga explained that what restrained the Spaniards and caused them to treat the Indians well was the certainty of keeping them as their property and giving them to their children. The conquerors, as a rule, were human, and even the worse among them knew how to take care of what constituted their wealth. The passing of the Indians to the Crown would have meant their abuse by their temporary owners, and their subsequent conversion into victims of the in-

[1] Persons who received natives *encomendados* (in trust).

trigues of the Spanish bureaucrats. This law was not given effect, and the work of blending the races and creating a new nation went on as before.

The spirit of the Church was the same in New Spain and in the rest of America. The work of civilization continued three centuries. When these countries obtained their independence, they were in the hands of neither Spaniards nor Indians, but of a new race, whose remotest origin went no farther back than to the discoverers; and the ancestors of which are Isabel of Castile, Columbus, the conquerors, the missionaries: all of them champions of Catholicism, and who did their work carrying on their banners the symbol of the Cross.

The Catholic sovereigns obtained from Pope Julius II the right of patronage in all the churches of the Indies as a reward "for having carried the banner of the Cross to unknown lands." The conquest was more than a military enterprise or a political undertaking; it was a religious and civilizing crusade. The first civilizers of the Indies were the priests and friars, as they had been the civilizers of Europe during the Middle Ages. The monarchs gave first attention to the selection of missionaries. From centres like Mexico City, Quito, Lima, Tucumán, the missionaries would travel to remote parts to teach, to baptize, to preach; and very often those who left did not return. Only by a clear appreciation of this religious spirit can modern men realize how the work of civilizing America could have been undertaken and carried out. Marshes, enormous rivers, jungles full of dangerous beasts, poisonous reptiles and germs of mortal diseases, mountains and distances of thousands of miles could not discourage the friar or the conqueror, for both carried with them the same religious spirit. If there were many Spaniards who came to America to exploit the Indians and who never treated the natives like human beings, the Spaniards themselves, and especially the missionaries, were always ready

D. FR. BARTHOLOME DE LAS CASAS
Del Orden de Predicadores, Obispo de Chiapa
Varon apostolico, y el mas zeloso de la felicidad
de los Indios.
Nació en Sevilla el año de 1474, y murió en Mad
el de 1566

to impose the proper penalties for such crimes. And if among the friars and priests there were men unworthy of the habit they wore, punishment was meted out to them.

The work of the Church as creator of nations was especially remarkable in some sections of South America. Franciscans and Dominicans at first, and later the Jesuits, moulded the national soul of entire regions, giving them individuality so as to make possible their development into real nations.

> In the theocratic colonization of the missions there was established a spiritual communion between the conquering and the conquered races, and it was in the City of God where first appeared the soul of the future nationalities of America.[1]

King Philip II, by means of his right of patronage, very carefully provided for the organization of the churches in the Indies, which was along the lines of that of the cathedrals of Spain, especially that of Seville. These regulations were very explicit, and even stipulated the hours for the various devotions.

Philip II and Philip III worked for the establishment of a patriarchy for the West Indies. One had existed before the time of Philip II, and he desired its reëstablishment. Both Philip II and Philip III asserted that they had been granted the privilege of having the patriarchy established. Since the patriarch of the West Indies resided in Spain under the royal authority, it can easily be seen how great was the influence of the king in the organization of the Church in America. From that time on politics and church administration were closely related.

B. *Patronage in Colonial Times.*—The exercise of patronage by the sovereigns of Spain gave rise to frequent difficulties in the relations between the Holy See and the Spanish Government. Spanish patronage was founded on the fact that the expansion of the Church in non-Christian

[1]Lucas Ayarragaray, "La Iglesia en América," J. Lajouane & Cia., Buenos Aires, 1920.

lands was the result of armed conquest by Spain. It is not known exactly when patronage was begun, but in the "*Siete Partidas*" there is found a provision explaining that patronage was due to "*mayoría, honra y señoría,*" based on the fact that the monarchs had freed the country from the Moors, had converted the mosques into churches, had established new churches where none existed before and had bestowed gifts and benefits on such churches. Even as early as the fifth century, in the Council of Toledo, the right of patronage was treated as an ordinary matter. It was recognized that the right of patronage was exercised through a concession of the Holy See. Probably it originated in the monarchy from intervention on the part of the people in the election of candidates for the vacant offices of church dignitaries. Perhaps intervention was not always orderly, and in order to avoid difficulties, the temporal monarchs assumed the right to pass on the qualifications of the candidates. The most important phase of the right of patronage is the right of presentation, that is, the right of designating candidates for the offices of the Church, appointment then being made by the Holy See. The principle which prevailed in the exercise of patronage in Spain served as a basis for the same privilege enjoyed by the monarchs in America. When, in 1493, Pope Alexander VI divided with an imaginary line the newly discovered lands into two zones, allotting one to Spain and the other to Portugal, he ordered the Catholic monarchs "to populate and to convert." This implied the granting of the right of patronage. In 1508 Pope Julius II formally granted patronage to King Ferdinand the Catholic and his daughter, Doña Juana, and to their successors, over all the churches of the Indies. Pope Adrian VI confirmed the right of patronage on Charles V, and other Popes in subsequent Bulls did likewise in favor of succeeding kings. In the concordat of 1753 between Pope Benedict XIV and Ferdinand VI, patronage was rec-

ognized by the Holy See and given definite shape and rules. This state of affairs lasted until the beginning of the war of independence in South America.

While the independent armies were fighting in America diplomatic representatives were in Europe seeking recognition of the countries that were endeavoring to obtain their freedom. Similar representatives were sent to Rome, to obtain the appointment of Church dignitaries to America without the intervention of the Spanish monarch. The steps taken in Rome by the Spanish ambassador and by the American diplomats form one of the most interesting chapters of the struggle for the independence of the American colonies, for the Spanish court counted on the right of patronage as a powerful instrument for regaining possession of the lost colonies.

Most of the diplomatic agents sent to Rome by the independent governments were clergymen unacquainted with diplomatic procedure, but strengthened by the knowledge of the spiritual needs of the countries they represented. All of these countries lacked bishops. The Governments would not accept those designated by the king, and the Pope could not appoint any in the absence of the designations imposed by the right of patronage. Friar Pedro Luis Pacheco, a Franciscan, representing the provinces of the River Plata, succeeded in being received by the Pope, to whom he presented the need of bishops in America. Appointment of bishops directly by the Pope would have meant a triumph for the cause of independence. But Friar Pacheco did not succeed in his mission. Another priest, Don José Ignacio Cienfuegos, representing the Government of Chile, where he enjoyed the highest reputation, tried to obtain the appointment of a bishop for his country at the same time that he was working for the recognition of its independence. He succeeded in having appointed an apostolic vicar in the person of Monsignor Juan Muzzi, whom he accompanied to Chile.

The most important representative of America was undoubtedly Don Ignacio Texada, sent to Rome by the Government of Nueva Granada. He soon became the agent of all the independent Governments of America. Arriving in Rome in 1824, he was obliged to contend from the very first with insistent demands for his expulsion on the part of the Spanish ambassador. He found it necessary to leave Rome, but continued his work from other cities of Italy.

All the new States of Spanish America recognized the Catholic religion as the State religion, and in the first constitution of the State of Cundinamarca, Republic of Colombia, sanctioned in 1811, provision was made that before any other diplomatic action should be taken, negotiations should be entered into with the Holy See to bring a concordat and the right of patronage by the independent Governments. The assembly of Buenos Aires on its part declared that the United Provinces of the River Plata were independent of all authority exercised over the Church outside of the territory, whether it was that of royal appointment or presentation. In 1825 Mexico endeavored to secure from the Pope the convocation of a general council to settle the ecclesiastic conflicts of America and to formulate a uniform plan of organization of the Church.

Ferdinand VII tried to prove that the spirit of independence was in opposition to the Church and the Pope and bent his efforts to obtain the independence of the spiritual and temporal functions.

The mission of Monsignor Muzzi in Chile was a kind of compromise between all tendencies. He was empowered to consecrate bishops, but only in *partibus infidelium*. It is an interesting detail that his secretary later occupied the Holy See under the name of Pius IX, and proved to be one of the most energetic heads the Church has ever had. Monsignor Muzzi's mission was far from success-

ful. He became convinced that a work of conciliation was impossible and was obliged to return to Rome.

The clergymen in the new countries were divided. Some were partisans of the Spanish monarch and some of independence, and in that situation it is not a matter of wonder that Monsignor Muzzi could not succeed. Impatient spirits thought that the Pope delayed unduly the recognition of the rights of the American peoples, and radical tendencies, stimulated by subversive doctrines received from France, as well as by an active propaganda made by various Protestant missions, made their appearance. Monsignor Muzzi had received power to appoint three bishops, and was requested to do so by the Chilean Government, which designated them, one of whom was Cienfuegos. Monsignor Muzzi refused to obey the instructions of the Government, standing firmly for the freedom of the Church from the intervention of the State, and was forced to leave the country, while Cienfuegos, representing the party of the independent government, attacked Bishop Rodríguez, representing the party in sympathy with the king. The bishop was expelled from Chile at the end of 1825, being perhaps the first victim of the persecution of Catholic priests by the Governments. Later Cienfuegos justified his conduct before Rome, and in 1832 was appointed Bishop of Chile, in spite of the protest of the Spanish ambassador. Prior to this, in the Consistory of May 21, 1827, the Pope appointed bishops for the vacant dioceses of Colombia, ignoring the right of presentation, and from that date the royal patronage may be considered as extinguished in America. Spain did not fail to protest and to use all her influence to induce the Pope to withdraw this decision, but in vain. In 1832 Gregory XVI appointed bishops for Mexico, Chile and Buenos Aires.

The struggle to retain the right of patronage in America lasted twenty years; but the Holy See was obliged

to face the new conditions and, with due regard for the feelings of the Spanish kings, to attend to the spiritual needs of the emancipated colonies. The Pope endeavored to show that his designations were purely spiritual in character. The sad experience of the Church has been that very little good results from its alliance with any temporal power, and the Holy See had to declare in a communication to the Spanish ambassador in Rome that the privileges granted to the Catholic sovereigns are void when they work to the disadvantage or harm of the Church.

Pope Gregory XVI, in his Bull *Sollicitudo Ecclesiarum,* declared that the treatment given by the Holy See to sovereigns, whether or not their titles were legitimate, did not confer any real rights on those sovereigns.

> If the customs and institutions of the Apostolic See * * * have always been in such a form that no measure can be considered as a sanction in that which concerns the recognition and attributes of temporal powers, still less could they be considered as such a sanction when states are subject to great changes and frequent revolutions. In no way must we appear as abandoning the cause of the Church on account of human affairs * * * In such epochs, in circumstances in which those relations of places and persons may reappear, nothing shall be sought but that which belongs to Christ; no object or intent must exist but that which leads more easily to the spiritual and eternal happiness of the peoples.

In 1833 King Ferdinand II died and civil war began. In the same year the Pope recognized the first republic of America, Nueva Granada. Although Spanish patronage came to an end in fact, the Spanish monarchs have never recognized this state of affairs officially.

## II. Legal Relations Between Church and State in America

This review must be based on the constitutions, as no law may curtail any freedom recognized implicitly or explicitly by the fundamental code of a country; and it may be divided into ten sections: nine topical and one refer-

ring to Mexico alone, since in that country there have been developments worthy of special notice:

1. Recognition of God. 2. Provisions affecting Church property. 3. Provisions affecting the political rights of clergymen. 4. Recognition of Church by State and religious freedom. 5. Freedom of speech. 6. Education. 7. Religious orders. 8. Patronage. 9. Miscellaneous. 10. The Church in Mexico.

1. *Recognition of God.*—The recognition of the existence of God is evidenced in the Argentine constitution in the preamble, where "the protection of God, the source and origin of all reason and justice" is invoked. The same constitution in Article 19 declares that "private actions which in no way offend public order or morals or are not injurious to a third party are reserved to God alone." Article 80 establishes the oath of office for President and Vice-President in the following terms: "I, ——— ———, do swear, before God our Lord and these Holy Gospels * * * Should I fail to do so, may God and the nation demand it of me."

The Bolivian constitution begins with the words: "In the name of God," and provides in Article 112 that an oath be taken by the Supreme Court. The first words of the Chilean constitution are: "In the name of Almighty God, the Creator and Supreme Law of the Universe." The oath of office in Chile is similar to that established in Argentina, but its ending is more emphatic: "If I do so, may God help and defend me. If not, may He demand it of me."

The preamble of the Colombian constitution speaks of God as the "Supreme Source of all Authority," and the name of God is also contained in the oath of office, Article 116.

In the Costa Rican constitution the name of God appears in the oath of office, Article 133, where the person who administers the oath replies: "If you so do, may God

help you, and if not, may He and the country demand it of you." Article 21 provides that all public officials should take the oath.

The favor of God is invoked in the preamble of the Cuban constitution. In the Dominican Republic the name of God is contained in the oath of office, which Article 101 requires all public officials to take, and according to Article 100 the national coat-of-arms must bear the words: *"Dios, Patria y Libertad,"* "God, Country and Liberty."

In both Haiti and Panama constitutional provision is made for oath of office, and in Panama the protection of God is invoked in the preamble of the constitution. A similar invocation appears in the Paraguayan constitution, where God is called "the Supreme Legislator of the Universe," and which contains a provision similar to that in the Argentine constitution regarding private acts being reserved to God. Article 93 requires that an oath be taken by President and Vice-President on entering upon the discharge of their duties.

In the countries where the oath does not exist a promise takes its place.

2. *Provisions affecting Church property.*—The constitutions containing provisions affecting Church property are those of the following countries: Bolivia, which guarantees all Church property by Article 17 in the same terms as it guarantees private property; Colombia, whose Article 55 implicitly protects Church property in the following words: "The buildings intended for Catholic worship, the seminaries for religious instruction and the residences of bishops and parish priests shall not be taxed or occupied for any other purposes." Article 43 of the constitution of Panama exempts from taxation all buildings devoted to any form of worship, theological seminaries and the residences of bishops and parish priests, and provides that the last shall be occupied by the Government only in case of urgent public necessity. Article 18 gives to corporations,

and consequently to churches, all rights guaranteed private individuals, but Article 39 prohibits entailment of real estate and irredeemable obligations, a provision which permits the Church to buy and sell real estate with entire freedom. Similar provisions exist in the constitutions of Chile, Article 153; Colombia, Articles 31 and 37; Ecuador, Article 137; El Salvador, Article 5; Guatemala, Article 21; Honduras, Article 62; Nicaragua, Article 49; Peru, Article 38, and Uruguay, Article 149. Article 37 of the Ecuadorian constitution provides that no ecclesiastic who is not an Ecuadorian by birth shall be permitted to administer the property of monastic institutions existing in the republic. El Salvador forbids in Article 32 of its constitution the holding of all property by the Church except that used immediately and directly in the service and for the purposes of religion.

The absence of specific provisions in the constitutions of the other American countries justifies the belief that property owned by the Church in such countries is guaranteed in the same terms as property belonging to private individuals.

3. *Provisions affecting the political rights of clergymen.*—It is to be supposed that in countries in whose constitution appear no provisions to the contrary, clergymen enjoy the same political rights as the other citizens. Certain disabilities are frequent, however, especially as regards the election of clergymen to public office.

The Argentine constitution provides that "no member of the religious orders shall be elected to Congress" (Article 65). On the other hand, it provides (Article 76) that "to be elected President or Vice-President of the nation it is necessary * * * to belong to the Roman Catholic Apostolic Religion."

In Brazil, "members of monastic orders, companies, congregations or communities of whatsoever denomination, subject to vows of obedience or rules or statutes,

implying the surrender of individual liberty" may not be registered as electors for Federal or State elections, nor are they eligible to office (Article 70). Article 72, paragraph 28, protects the rights of clergymen as citizens, and states that no citizen may be exempted from the performance of any civic duty on account of his religious belief or office.

In Chile members of the religious orders, curates and vice-curates may not be elected members of Congress (Articles 21 and 26), nor President of the republic (Article 51) even ad interim (Article 69). In case of substitution of President, only members of the cabinet or council who are not ecclesiastics are eligible to appointment (Article 66). On the other hand, Article 93 provides that one member of the council of State must be a Church dignitary.

Article 54 of the Colombian constitution provides that Catholic priests may be employed only in matters of public instruction or charity, being debarred from all other political offices. Similar provision exists in the constitution of Panama (Article 135).

In Costa Rica, to be eligible to appointment as magistrate one must belong to the secular state (Article 123).

In Ecuador no one may be elected to a public office by a province in which he is exercising or has exercised any ecclesiastical jurisdiction or authority (Article 61).

In El Salvador no position to be filled by popular vote may be held by any minister of any religion (Articles 83 and 125). The same may be said regarding Guatemala (Articles 50 and 65, paragraph 4, 72 and 86). A like provision appears in Article 65 of the Honduran constitution, and in Article 142, paragraph 2, of the Nicaraguan constitution, which, however, does permit ministers of any creed to serve in the army as chaplains or in field hospitals.

Restrictions in the Peruvian constitution refer only to the position of senator or representative, and merely with regard to archbishops, bishops, ecclesiastical governors and

other Church dignitaries who would by election represent the same district as that where they exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction (Article 76, paragraph 4).

In Paraguay, it is necessary to be a Christian in order to be President or Vice-President of the republic (Article 89).

4. *Recognition of Church by State and religious freedom.*—According to Article 2 of the Argentine constitution, the Federal Government supports the Roman Catholic Apostolic Church, but according to Articles 14 and 20 all the inhabitants and aliens of the nation shall enjoy the right freely to profess their religion. Article 67, paragraph 15, provides that Congress shall have the power to promote the conversion of the Indians to Catholicism.

Bolivia recognizes and supports the Roman Catholic Apostolic Religion, but permits the public exercise of any other public worship (Article 2).

Article 72 of the Brazilian constitution grants to all individual persons and corporations of religious character "the right to exercise, publicly and freely, their own religion, and to associate themselves for that purpose and acquire property, provided that the requirements of the ordinary law are observed," and provides that "no Church or worship shall be officially subsidized or made dependent on or connected with the Government of the union or of the States," which provision is also contained in Article 11, paragraph 2. It further provides that "all those who allege their religious belief as a reason for exempting themselves from any duty which the laws of the republic impose upon its citizens * * * shall lose all their political rights."

The Chilean constitution does not only declare that the religion of the republic is Roman Catholic Apostolic, to the exclusion of the public exercise of any other (Article 4), but requires the President-elect in his oath of office to swear "to observe and protect the Roman Catholic Apos-

tolic Religion." Article 4 is explained by the law of July 27, 1865, which expressly permits to non-Catholics the right "to practise their religion inside private buildings belonging to them," and "to found and support schools for the instruction of their children in the doctrines of their respective religions."

The Colombian constitution recognizes the Roman Catholic Apostolic religion as the religion of the nation and provides for its protection on the part of the authorities, who are "to cause it to be respected as an essential element of social order" (Article 38). The same article further declares that "the Catholic Church is not and shall not be official, and that it shall preserve its independence." Article 53 declares that the Catholic Church is free in Colombia to exercise its proper activities without needing authorization from the civil power, and that it has power "to perform civil acts in its own name." In Article 56 provision is made to empower the Government to negotiate agreements with the Holy Apostolic See to establish relations between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. Articles 39 and 40 guarantee religious freedom and the right to exercise all forms of worship not opposed to Christian morals or to the law.

In Costa Rica all cults may be practised freely, but the State recognizes as its own religion the Catholic Faith and contributes to its support (Article 51).

Article 26 of the Cuban constitution declares that the Church shall be separated from the State, which in no case shall subsidize any religion, and "the profession of all religions, as well as the practice of all forms of worship, is free, without any other restriction than that demanded by the respect for Christian morality and public order."

Article 6 of the Dominican constitution guarantees to all the inhabitants of the republic the free exercise of their religions, although Article 94 recognizes that the major-

ity of the people profess the Catholic religion, and provides for a continuance of the present relations existing between Church and State.

Article 13 of the Ecuadorian constitution guarantees the respect of all religious beliefs and the manifestations thereof, and the preceding article recognizes as the religion of Ecuador the Roman Catholic Apostolic, to the exclusion of all worship contrary to morals, and provides for its protection by the public authorities. Article 37 prohibits the immigration of religious communities and declares that only Ecuadorians by birth shall serve a benefice or exercise jurisdiction in the Ecuadorian Church.

The free exercise of all religions, without any other restriction than that required by morals or public order, is guaranteed in Article 12 of the constitution of El Salvador. It further provides that "no religious act shall serve as evidence of the civil status of a person."

The free practice of all religions in the interior of churches in Guatemala is guaranteed by Article 24 of the constitution, provided that it is not "extended to the performance of acts subversive or inconsistent with public peace and order" or interferes with the fulfillment of civil or political obligations.

In Haiti the free exercise of all religions is guaranteed with no other restriction than respect for public order (Article 17). Article 54 of the Honduran constitution makes analogous provision, and Article 55 declares that the civil status of persons shall not be dependent on any particular religious creed.

Article 5 of the Nicaraguan constitution declares that the majority of the people profess the Catholic religion. The State guarantees the free exercise of all cults not opposing Christian morals and public order.

Identical declarations are contained in Article 26 of the constitution of Panama, which provides further for national assistance in the founding of a theological semi-

nary in the capital and the sending of missions to the native tribes, and in Article 3 of that of Paraguay, in which country the chief prelate of the Church must be a Paraguayan. Religious freedom is also guaranteed to inhabitants by Article 18 and to aliens by Article 33.

Article 5 of the Peruvian constitution declares that the nation professes the Catholic religion and that the State protects it. Article 23 declares that no person shall be persecuted because of his beliefs.

Uruguay establishes complete religious freedom in Article 5 of its constitution, and the same freedom is recognized in Article 22 of the Venezuelan constitution, paragraph 13, but which places the supreme inspection of all cults in the Federal Executive.

The constitutions of Argentina (Article 87) and of Paraguay (Article 104) provide for a minister of worship.

5. *Freedom of speech.*—Analogous to Article 25 of the Cuban constitution which reads: "Every one may freely express his ideas either orally or in writing, through the press or in any other manner, without subjection to previous censorship; but the responsibility specified by law, when attacks are made upon the honor of individuals, the social order or the public peace shall be properly enforced," are Article 72, paragraph 12, of the Brazilian constitution; Articles 36 and 37 of the Costa Rican constitution, the latter restricted by the former, which forbids political propaganda invoking religious motives or taking advantage of the religious belief of the people; Article 6, paragraph 4, of the Dominican constitution; Article 32 of the Ecuadorian constitution; Article 29 of the Salvadorean constitution; Article 26 of the Guatemalan constitution; Article 16 of the Haitian constitution; Articles 42 and 56 of the Honduran constitution; Articles 43 and 44 of the Nicaraguan constitution and Article 27 of that of Panama.

6. *Education.*—As a rule, education is taken care of by the Government in schools which are lay in character.

Specific provision to this effect appears in Article 72, paragraph 6, of the Brazilian constitution. The Chilean constitution in Articles 144 and 145 places national education under the authority of the Government and provides for a department of public instruction, but does not provide that education should be laical. Article 10 guarantees the liberty of teaching. Article 41 of the Colombian constitution provides that public education "shall be organized and conducted in accordance with the Catholic religion." Article 120, paragraph 15, places public instruction directly in the hands of the President of the republic. The Costa Rican constitution puts primary inspection under the supreme supervision of the President and in the immediate care of the municipalities (Article 52). There is no provision making it lay. This last is true also of Cuba. Article 31 of its constitution provides for the support of public instruction by the State, if the municipalities and provinces are unable to do so through lack of funds. Liberty of teaching is guaranteed in Article 6 of the constitution of the Dominican Republic, and Article 79 places public instruction under the care of the municipal councils. Article 36 of the Ecuadorian constitution provides that every one shall have the right to establish schools, subject to the provisions of the law. This principle is general in all American countries with the exception of Mexico. By paragraph 14 of Article 94 the President of Ecuador has the duty of supervising public instruction; whereas paragraph 13 of Article 65 grants to Congress the power to enact general laws of public instruction. Article 33 of the Salvadorean constitution provides that the instruction given in establishments supported by the Government shall be laical, as does Article 18 of the Guatemalan constitution. Article 27 provides for freedom of instruction in private schools and Article 77 delegates to the Executive Power the right to exercise supreme inspection over all teaching establishments and to direct public instruction. Freedom

of teaching is guaranteed by Article 16 of the Dominican constitution, Article 18 of the Haitian constitution, Article 57 of the Honduran constitution and by Article 6 of the Nicaraguan constitution, where supervision of public instruction rests with the President (paragraph 18, Article 111). Article 133 of the constitution of Panama guarantees freedom of teaching, as does Article 100 of the Uruguayan constitution, which places public instruction under the supervision of independent councils. Paragraph 12 of Article 22 of the constitution guarantees freedom of teaching in Venezuela.

7. *Religious Orders.*—Recognition of religious orders is implicitly contained in the Argentine constitution, paragraph 20 of Article 67, which gives to Congress the power to admit into the territory of the republic religious orders in addition to those already existing, a right prohibited the provinces by Article 108; and in the Colombian constitution, Article 47, a paragraph of which reads: "Religious associations shall, in order to secure the protection of the laws, file, before the civil authority, the authorization issued in their favor by their respective ecclesiastical superiors." The right to establish religious orders is implied through freedom of association in the constitutions of Brazil, Article 72, paragraphs 3 and 8; of Chile, Article 10, paragraph 6; of Colombia, Article 47; of Costa Rica, Articles 33 and 50; of Cuba, Article 28; of the Dominican Republic, Article 6, paragraph 5; of Haiti, Article 21; of Panama, Article 20; of Paraguay, Article 18, and of Uruguay, Article 150, which reserves to God actions of men which in no way disturb public order or do harm to third parties. Their establishment is forbidden by the constitutions of El Salvador, Article 15, which states that the law "shall not authorize any act or contract having for its object the loss or the irrevocable sacrifice of human liberty, whether on account of labor, education or religious vows," and Article 35, which expressly prohibits the establishment of

"convents or monasteries and all kinds of monastic institutions"; of Guatemala, Article 25 and of Honduras, Article 58; of Peru, Article 22, which states that the law does not recognize any contract which causes the loss of individual liberty, although Article 37 guarantees freedom of association. Article 24 of the constitution of Ecuador guarantees freedom of association, but Article 37 expressly forbids the immigration of religious communities. In the absence of provisions to the contrary, the establishment of monastic orders is permitted.

8. *Patronage.*—The American countries where provision is made for official intervention in the filling of ecclesiastical positions, in accordance with the national constitution number seven,—one in Central America: Costa Rica; and six in South America: Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Paraguay, Peru and Venezuela.

The Costa Rican constitution, Article 102, paragraphs 12 and 13, places in the hands of the Executive Power the right "To exercise, according to law, the right of patronage, make the presentations and nominations which belong to it, and to do all other things in church matters which the law permits," and

"To grant or refuse the passage of decrees of Councils, Bulls, briefs and pontifical rescripts or any other dispatches of the ecclesiastical authority."

Article 112 of the Venezuelan constitution states that the nation shall exercise ecclesiastic patronage according to the law of July 28, 1824.

In the remaining countries in which patronage is practised, the respective constitutions determine the manner in which the right shall be exercised. The Argentine constitution, Article 96, determines that the President "exercises the right of ecclesiastical patronage by presenting for each national diocese the name of a bishop, selected out of three suggested to him for this purpose by the

Senate." But as regards the granting or refusing of passage to decrees of the Councils, Bulls, briefs and rescripts of the Supreme Pontiff of Rome, he must act with the advice and consent of the Supreme Court. If the ecclesiastical enactments contain provisions of general or permanent character, the granting or refusing must be made by law.

In Bolivia, according to Article 89 of the constitution, patronage is exercised by the President and the Senate, and the President and the chapters of the cathedrals; the first

> To nominate archbishops and bishops, selecting them from among the names submitted, three for each place, by the Senate, and
>
> To grant or refuse, with the advice of the Senate, the acceptance of the decrees of the Councils, or the briefs, Bulls, and rescripts of the Supreme Pontiff. A law shall be required when the ecclesiastical provisions above referred to contain general and permanent provisions.

The chapters of the cathedrals present candidates from which the Executive appoints canons, prebendaries and other Church dignitaries.

Article 73 of the Chilean constitution provides for the exercise of patronage by the President in terms analogous to those of the Bolivian constitution on the subject, but in every case the President must act with the advice and consent of the Council of State.

In Paraguay, for the nomination of bishops, three names must be submitted to the President by the Senate and nomination must be made "with the advice and consent of the ecclesiastical council or in default thereof, of the national clergy assembled." In granting or refusing the acceptance of the decrees of the Councils and of the Bulls, briefs or rescripts of the Supreme Pontiff he must act with the advice of Congress.

Article 121 of the constitution of Peru provides for the exercise of patronage according to law. For presen-

tation for the dignitaries of bishops and archbishops, the approval of Congress is necessary, as well as for granting or refusing the acceptance of the decrees of the Councils, and of the Bulls, briefs or rescripts of the Supreme Pontiff. In the latter case the Supreme Court has to be heard when these decisions have to do with litigious matters.

The President may present for sees, canonicates, curacies and other ecclesiastical positions only priests of Peruvian nationality.

9. *Miscellaneous.*—Article 27, paragraph 3, of the Bolivian constitution states that the declaration of the state of siege may reduce the payment of the civil ecclesiastical lists, which reduction may not exceed fifty per cent. on the amounts fixed in the appropriations law. This implies pecuniary support of the Church by the State.

Paragraph 4 of Article 72 of the Brazilian constitution declares that the Republic recognizes only the civil marriage, and paragraph 5 states that the cemeteries shall be general and non-religious in character and managed by the municipal authorities, but that all religious rites which do not offend the public morals and the laws may be used.

By law of October 21, 1831, explanatory of Article 135 of the constitution of Ecuador, ecclesiastical positions not filled by those appointed within the time established by law shall be considered vacant by the Government and filled anew, and taking possession by proxy of the dignities and offices in the cathedral churches is forbidden.

It is to be supposed that the Church and the religious associations constitute juridical persons, that is, corporations, in all countries in which no provision to the contrary exists or whenever specific provisions restricting the exercise of rights appear. Specific provision giving them recognition as corporations is contained in Article 49 of the Colombian constitution. According to Article 120, paragraph 21, the President may intervene in the admin-

istration of funds left to religious and charitable organizations, since they are institutions of common utility.

The Salvadorean constitution recognizes in Article 8 "that there are rights and duties anterior and superior to the positive laws, derived from the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity and resting upon the basis of respect to family, labor, property and public order." This declaration places the constitution of El Salvador in a class by itself, for it establishes the superiority of eternal principles over the works of men. The inclusion of a principle like this means to accept the principle that they err who contend that a constitution may destroy everything in order to build a new order according to the so-called "rule of the people," which may be only the effect of passion and ill-directed instincts. The constitutional power is not the supreme power of a country, and the countries are safe only when they recognize that in exercising their power they must act within the boundaries established by eternal principles superior to all human law.

10. *The Church in Mexico.*—No country is indebted to the Church to such a great extent as Mexico. Pedro de Gante, Juan de Zumárraga, the missionaries arriving with the conquerors and teaching the conquered races, living with them, suffering with them: those are the founders of Mexico. Identified with the life of the country they made, they were gradually despoiled of their power and, if the Church has not lost her ground, it is due, after the work of Divine Providence, to the fact that the faith and the country can not be separated without destroying the people themselves.

After years of strife, by the Constitution of 1857 and the Laws of Reformation, the Church lost her property and became subject to restrictions in such a degree as to render it necessary to ignore them. A *modus vivendi* was tacitly in existence during the régime of Porfirio Díaz, and it was continued during the first three years of the last

revolution. Soon the revolutionists started the persecution of the Church, and in the Constitution of 1917 they intensified all the disabilities contained in the previous laws.

Article 3 forbids religious corporations or ministers of any creed to establish or direct schools of primary instruction and also provides that such instruction must be secular.

Article 5 forbids the establishment of monastic orders. Although Articles 6 and 9 guarantee the freedom of expression of ideas and of peaceful assembly and Article 24 guarantees the freedom to embrace any religion a man may choose and to practise in places of public worship or at home all ceremonies of the respective creeds with the proper limitations regarding offenses punishable by law, the Church is subject to exceptional restrictions.

That the ministers of religious creeds may not be elected to public office is not uncommon (Articles 55, paragraph 6; 59 and 82, paragraph 4), nor is it that the oath of office does not exist, being replaced by a mere affirmation, but the following provisions cannot fail to attract especial consideration:

All religious acts shall be performed within the places of public worship, which shall be at all times under governmental supervision (Article 24, last paragraph). This supervision is reiterated in Article 130, which gives the Federal authorities the right to intervene according to law in matters of religious worship in outward ecclesiastical forms. Churches have no legal capacity to acquire, hold or administer real property or loans made on such real property. What they possessed when the constitution was enacted became, by its provisions, the property of the State. Places of public worship also changed owners in this swift manner, and not only they, but even the residences of bishops, rectories, seminaries, orphan asylums or any other buildings in any way connected with religion passed into the hands of the nation. As any one has the right to

denounce Church property and thus acquire quick profits, these laws have always worked fairly well, incidentally creating a new class of owners interested in supporting such legislation. The same article which contains the foregoing provisions and which for other reasons has become internationally notorious (Article 27), provides that no charitable or scientific institutions or any other organizations, shall be under the patronage, direction, administration, charge or supervision of religious corporations or institutions nor of ministers of any religious creed or of their dependents, even though the former or the latter shall not be in active service.

Marriage is a civil contract, states Article 130, thus challenging the belief consecrated by centuries that it is a Sacrament. Consequently, it is under the jurisdiction of civil authorities. This article provides that churches have no juridical personality, that no minister of religious creeds may criticize the laws, the authorities, the Government of the country, reiterating that they shall have no vote nor be eligible to office, nor shall they be entitled to assemble for political purposes. To open new churches permission must be obtained from the Government.

Vexatious reports must be submitted by incoming and outgoing pastors. No studies carried on in institutions devoted to the professional training of ministers of religious creeds shall be given credit in official institutions and violation of this provision is a criminal offense. No minister of any religious creed may inherit any real property occupied by any association of religious propaganda or of religious or charitable purposes. Ministers of religious creeds are incapable legally of inheriting by will from ministers of the same religious creed or from any private individual to whom they are not related by blood within the fourth degree. But the most remarkable provisions of this article are the following, which are almost unbelievable:

> No periodical publication * * * of a religious character shall comment upon any political affairs of the nation nor publish any information regarding the acts of the authorities of the country or of private individuals, in so far as the latter have to do with public affairs.
>
> Every kind of political association whose name shall bear any word or any indication relating to any religious belief is hereby strictly forbidden.
>
> The State legislatures shall have the exclusive power of determining the maximum number of ministers of religious creeds, according to the needs of each locality. Only a Mexican by birth may be a minister of any religious creed in Mexico.

And if any violations of this article are committed, the transgressors are not allowed the privileges granted to murderers, thiefs, housebreakers or highway robbers. The transgressors will not have the right to be tried by jury.

This is the law as it stands in Mexico, the land made by Pedro de Gante and Juan de Zumárraga. It is the country where the universities, the printing press, the primary schools and all the work of civilization were carried out by the Catholic Church. It is only fair to say that although laws of this kind have existed on paper, they have been almost always ignored in practice, at least, in so far as no material gain has been obtained by the enemies of the Church through the enforcement of the legal provisions.

*Summary.*—The Church has been the cradle, the maker, the civilizer of America. She has been hindered by official connections with the State. Patronage has been her main stumbling block. Persecution has been general. In the United States she has emerged to complete freedom. In Mexico she is suffering severe trials. In the other countries she enjoys varying degrees of liberty. Protestant propaganda is openly favored by some Governments; but its only measure of success has been to destroy the faith of some thousands of poor people rebellious to any kind of discipline. Indifference is rampant, but as a general thing, it is merely apparent. Almost always the priest

is at the bedside of the dying. And, in spite of handicaps, the Church is now in all America the strongest force for good, the firmest bond of social unity, the strongest bulwark against the forces of evil now loose upon earth; and, though not everywhere endowed with liberty, she is now the safest place where freedom finds shelter against the encroachments of the State upon the human conscience.

*Dates of the Constitutions Consulted in the Preparation of this Article:*

Argentina—September 25, 1860.
Bolivia—October 17, 1880.
Brazil—February 24, 1891.
Chile—May 25, 1833, as amended June 26, 1893.
Colombia—August 4, 1886.
Costa Rica—1913.
Cuba—February 21, 1901.
Dominican Republic—1908.
Ecuador—January 12, 1897.
El Salvador—August 13, 1886.
Guatemala—December 11, 1879, as amended November 5, 1887.
Haiti—1918.
Honduras—1915.
Mexico—1917.
Nicaragua—1911.
Panama—February 13, 1904.
Paraguay—November 25, 1870.
Peru—1919.
Uruguay—1919.
Venezuela—1914.

MARQUETTE AND JOLIET

# CHURCH AND STATE IN THE UNITED STATES

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A STUDY of the relations between religion and government in the United States discloses at the outset an apparent anomaly, amounting almost to a contradiction. A closer examination, however, will determine that this seeming discrepancy arises from a fundamental distinction between the visible and the invisible elements that enter into the composition of the nationality and its institutions. This distinction should be analyzed and understood, for it lies at the basis of an adequate and accurate discussion of the subject.

Constitutions, laws, and institutions are the visible instrumentalities by which every self-governing people controls and regulates its social organization and the government that embodies its sovereignty; but, ante-dating and to a degree dominating these tangible agencies and expressions of civil and political authority, are the inherited traits of the population, exhibited in its temperament, traditions, customs, sentiments, modes of thought and standards of conduct—in short, in those things that constitute the real character of the nation. There is as truly a spirit politic and social as there is a body politic and social, and the two are as necessary to each other, and as inseparable in their coördinate relations, as the spiritual and the physical faculties of the natural man. It is the essential function and virtue of true Constitutionalism to establish and maintain a just and harmonious equilibrium between the two, restricting and regulating the sphere and strength of each, without impairing the legitimate vigor and exercise of either. This it does by those rules and limitations which the people voluntarily impose upon their own actions, and upon the scope and powers of their

governmental agencies. The Medieval Church was the mother of the system of constitutional government as recognized among modern nations,[1] and the founders of the American Republic believed that they had achieved its most perfect and practical realization in the Federal Constitution, as originally conceived and framed.

Until within very recent years the spirit politic of this nation has been profoundly religious, with Christianity as the dominating influence. It could not well have been otherwise, since America is a Christian land by right of discovery, exploration, settlement and inheritance. The Catholic sovereigns who sent Columbus westward across the Atlantic commissioned him to find new lands for God's Kingdom, while the funds that furnished his voyages came from the treasury of the Church. The first civilized worship conducted within the territory of the United States was celebrated by Catholic missionaries, a hundred years before the Cavaliers came to Virginia or the Puritans to New England; and where they labored religion meant mercy, peace and preservation to the native tribes, instead of pillage, cruelty and extermination. All of the colonies and settlements were established to propagate the creed and institutions of Christianity, and most of them, in the charters that authorized their existence, were expressly required to provide by law for the spread of the Christian faith and its practice by their governments. Both before and after the separation of the Thirteen Colonies from Great Britain, the Christian religion was recognized officially as the accepted belief of the inhabitants, the source of public and private morality, and the indispensable

[1] Tosti, "History of the Lombard League," b. II, note A; Cantu, "Universal History," ninth Italian edition, b. 8; Suarez, "On Laws"; Domat, "Civil Law," Prelim. Tit. 1, Sect. 1 and 2, "Public Laws," Preface; Parsons, "Studies in Church History," Vol. II, pp. 4 and 212, notes; Carlyle, R. W. & A. J., "History of Medieval Political Theory in the West" (1922), Vol. IV; Acton, "History of Freedom and Other Essays."

foundation of society and government. From the inauguration of the Federal Union all of its Presidents and representative men have lost no opportunity to emphasize this fact, and to extol the value of Christian principles in national life. In his argument in the "Girard Will Case," this American doctrine was beautifully expounded by Daniel Webster. Contending that Christianity is part of the law of the land, he said:

> The massive cathedral of the Catholic; the Episcopalian church with its lofty spire pointing heavenward; the plain temple of the Quaker; the log church of the hardy pioneer in the wilderness; the monuments and memorials around and about us; the consecrated graveyards, their tombstones and epitaphs, their silent vaults, their mouldering contents, all attest it. The dead prove it as well as the living. The generations that are gone before speak to it and pronounce it from the tomb. We feel it. All, all proclaim that Christianity, general, tolerant Christianity, that Christianity to which the sword and the faggot are unknown, tolerant Christianity, is the law of the land.[2]

More recently the Supreme Court of the United States, in an exhaustive opinion by Justice Brewer, declared that "no purpose of action against religion can be imputed to any legislation, of State or Nation, because this is a religious people." The Court further said: "There is no dissonance in these declarations. There is a universal language pervading them all, having one meaning: they affirm and re-affirm that this is a religious nation. They are not individual sayings, declarations of private persons; they are organic utterances, they speak the voice of the entire people * * * These, and many other matters that might be noticed, add a volume of unofficial declarations to the mass of organic utterances, that this is a Christian nation."[3] Nowhere in the literature of American law, or in the transactions of life and business, is there recognition of any other than the Christian religion, and the courts

[2] Webster, "Works," Vol. VI, p. 176.
[3] "Church of Holy Trinity v. U. S.," 143 U. S. Rep. 470-472.

have repeatedly decided that the only Supreme Ruler of the Universe known to American jurisprudence and polity is the God of the Old and the New Testaments, the Christian's God.[4] In those States which retain the common law of England on the subject of crimes, and in some of the older States by statute, blasphemy is punishable as a felony. The Supreme Court of Massachusetts has defined that offence as "speaking evil of the Deity, with the impious purpose to derogate from the Divine Majesty and to alienate the minds of others from the love and reverence of God."[5] In a famous case decided in the Supreme Court of New York a century ago, Chancellor Kent said:

> The people of this State, in common with the people of this country, profess the general doctrines of Christianity, as their rule of faith and practice. To scandalize the Author of those doctrines is not only, in a religious point of view, extremely impious, but, even in respect to the obligations due to society, is a gross violation of decency and good order. The free, equal and undisturbed enjoyment of religious opinion, whatever it may be, and free and decent discussions on any religious subject, are granted and secured; but to revile, with malicious and blasphemous contempt, the religion professed by almost the whole community, is an abuse of that right. Nor are we bound by any expressions in the Constitution, as some have strangely supposed, either not to punish at all, or to punish indiscriminately, the like attacks upon the religion of Mahomet or of the Grand Lama; and for the plain reason that we are a Christian people, and the morality of the country is deeply ingrafted upon Christianity, and not upon the doctrines of those imposters.[6]

Not only the courts, but all branches of the Government and the daily customs of the people, recognize the essential part that religion, and especially the Christian faith, performs in our civilization.[7] It is sung in the National Hymn

[4] Cooley, "Constitutional Limitations," 7th Ed. 669-673, notes.
[5] "Commonwealth v. Kneeland," 20 Pickering's Reports, 213, 220.
[6] "People v. Ruggles," 8 Johnson, 289.
[7] Zollman, "American Civil Church Law" (1917), 14-15; Cooley, "Constitutional Limitations," 578; "Vidal v. Girard's Executors," 2 Howard, U. S. Sup. Court, 127, 198; "Reformed Dutch Ch. v. Verder," 4 Wendell (N. Y.), 493, 496; "Board of Education v. Minor," 23 Ohio St., 211; "Church v. Bullock" (Texas), 109 S. W. Rep., 115, 118.

and stamped upon the national coinage, and is as much a fact in national life as the Gregorian Calendar or the fundamental laws of physics.

It will be observed that there is no intimation that any particular form of Christian organization or belief is meant; on the contrary, there is evident care to avoid any such commitment. In an early case, which has been followed as judicial precedent, the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania used language that precludes any distinction between the differing divisions of professing Christians: "Christianity, general Christianity, is and always has been a part of the common law of Pennsylvania; not Christianity with an established church, and tithes, and spiritual courts, but Christianity with liberty of conscience to all men."[8] The theory, sometimes advanced by certain religionists, that "this is a Protestant country," finds no sanction in any official or judical utterance since the foundation of the Government.

The effect of all of this is that Christianity, being the inherited and accepted belief of the majority of the people who profess any religious faith, is the basis of public and private morality, and its tenets are the source and standard of personal and social obligations in the citizenship of the Republic. There is a radical distinction, however, between a religion freely preferred by the people, and one preferred and established by coercion of the law. In the one case it is a popular status, founded upon historical and transmitted influences; in the other it is a legal status, being a civil and political institution adopted and maintained by secular authority.[9] Herein lies the peculiar and the unprecedented feature of the relations between religion and government in the United States, presenting the aspect of inconsistency before mentioned. In other countries in the past, religion had either been forcibly imposed upon

[8] "Updegraph v. Commonwealth," 11 Serg. & Rawle, 394.
[9] Zollman, "American Civil Church Law," 12-13, and cases cited.

the people by arbitrary compulsion, as occurred in all the Protestant kingdoms following the politico-religious revolution in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; or, being first freely and universally preferred by the people, it had been accepted and established by the government, as was uniformly the case in every country where Catholicism has at any time been the state religion. In the United States, the framers of the Government, reflecting the best judgment and free will of their constituents, decided to establish by law the universal freedom and equality of all religions, as well as of those having no religion, in their civil and political rights. They incorporated in the constitutional organization of the Union the principle of the complete separation of religious and secular institutions, with liberty and autonomy of action of each in its own sphere. This did not imply, however, that religion and government, Church and State, were inexorably put asunder; for that would have been to rend apart the spirit politic and the body politic, and to repudiate the most sacred and ineradicable sentiments then and always dominant in the minds and hearts of the American people. In declaring the institutional separation of Church and State, the Convention of 1787 and the Congress that submitted its work to the people of the States, with the Amendments, merely returned to the Divine mandate, to "render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's"; which, it should be observed, is a dichotomous and not a diverse commandment—a coupling together and not a divorcement of the two relationships. This action, also, was in exact accord with the attitude of the Church, since she first assumed a definite position in reference to the respective rights and relations of ecclesiastical and secular authority. Her whole history has been largely concerned in asserting and defending that doctrine. After the Milan Decree in 313 A. D., the first Christian emperor, in his newly-found zeal for the religion to which he had been converted, an-

nounced that the supreme ecclesiastical power had the right to decide all questions of civil and political controversy, thus yielding submission of the empire to the Church; but the Church did not accept so large and extraordinary a function and responsibility, preferring to adhere to the letter and the spirit of Christ's command, above quoted. Gregory the Great, in the sixth century, proclaimed the same policy; Gregory VII (Hildebrand) triumphantly vindicated it in his conflict with Henry of Germany; Boniface VIII struggled to maintain it against the usurpations of Philip the Fair; it was the issue between ecclesiasticism and imperialism throughout the centuries, until Protestantism, by the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, accomplished the dismemberment of Christendom and crowned its victory with the doctrine that the "religion of the prince is the religion of the land" *(cujus regio, ejus religio)*. This, of course, made religion the sport and the spoil of temporal rulers, and sought to make the Church, instead of One, Catholic and Apostolic, a hydra-headed human institution, changing her faith with the variation of race and climate, subject to the frail and fluctuating judgment of as many earthly potentates as there may be lands to govern and princes or peoples to govern them. It was this Protestant conception that had prevailed in all of the American Colonies, except Maryland, before the Revolution, and even up to the time of the adoption of the Constitution.

The men who framed that instrument, unconsciously perhaps, but deliberately, enacted the Catholic doctrine of the separate and coördinate jurisdictions of Church and State, so long contended for by the Papacy in the fierce strifes of European religious controversy, and which has received its latest and clearest exposition in the language of Leo XIII:

> The Almighty, therefore, has appointed the charge of the human race between two powers, the ecclesiastical and the civil, the one being set over divine, the other over human

> things. Each in its kind is supreme, each has its fixed limits within which it is confined, limits which are defined by the nature and special object of the province of each, so that there is, we may say, an orbit traced out within which the action of each is brought into play by its own native right. But inasmuch as each of these powers has authority over the same subjects, and as it might come to pass that one and the same thing—related differently, but still remaining one and the same thing—might belong to the jurisdiction and determination of both, therefore God, who foresees all things, and who is the author of these two powers, has marked out the course of each in right correlation to the other. "For the powers that are, are ordained of God." (Rom. xiii, 1).[10]

This contains the whole theory of American constitutional law, as it was understood by the Fathers of the Republic. The necessary corollary of this doctrine is the rule of liberty of conscience, and the freedom and equality of all religions in the domain of civil and political rights. Spiritual belief, being a question of individual choice and conscientious conviction, belongs to the ecclesiastical forum; while, for a corresponding reason, the functions and jurisdiction of the state in secular affairs should be exempt from ecclesiastical control.

When the statesmen of 1787 and 1789 came "to form a more perfect Union," and to ordain a government that should "establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty" to themselves and their posterity, they followed the letter and the spirit of these principles; and in nothing else that they did was there displayed a greater courage, wisdom, patriotism, and prophetic sagacity. The Constitution itself contains no pronouncements of political theories, nor any abstractions of social science. It does not even attempt to propound any particular system of social and civil institutions. It concerns itself with the organization of the machinery of the Federal Government, the definition, limitation, and apportionment of the authority

[10] "The Great Encyclicals of Leo XIII": Immortale Dei, Nov. 1, 1885.

GEORGE CALVERT, LORD BALTIMORE

of that Government, in its relations to the States of the Union, and the performance of the powers and duties assigned to the several departments of the Federal administration. The nearest approach to the declaration of general principles is contained in the Ten Amendments which were added by the First Congress, and especially in the First Amendment, which applies to religious freedom, freedom of speech and of the press, and the right of peaceful assembly and petition. Even in those Amendments, which have been called the "Bill of Rights," the effect of the limitations and definitions set forth does not reach beyond the Federal Government and the acts of Congress; they in no wise or degree abridge or control the several States in respect to the matters therein mentioned.[11] If we seek to know the view of the Fathers of the Republic upon the nature, origin, and prerogatives of human governments in general, and of the state as a social institution, they must be found in the Declaration of Independence, and in the contemporaneous utterances of the authors of that document, who were also largely the framers of the Constitution.[12] Especially the following paragraph of the Declaration, so often quoted and so seldom correctly analyzed and interpreted, contains what may properly be called the American doctrine as to the true origin and scope of the free and normal state:

> We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life,

[11] "Permolli v. Municipality No. 1 of New Orleans," 3 Howard, 589; "Barron for use of Tiernan v. Baltimore," 7 Peters, 243; "Munn v. Illinois," 94 U. S., 113; "Smith v. Maryland," 18 Howard, 71; "Livingston v. Moore," 7 Peters, 469; "McElvaine v. Brush," 142 U. S., 155; "Presser v. Illinois," 116 U. S., 252. But see "Supreme Justices v. Murray," 9 Wallace, 278; "Slaughter House Cases," 16 Wallace, 125; "Neal v. Delaware," 102 U. S., 370.

[12] "McCulloch v. Maryland," 4 Wheaton, 316; "Inglis v. Sailor's Snug Harbor," 3 Peters, 99; "Minor v. Happersett," 21 Wallace, 162; "Martin v. Hunter," 1 Wheaton, 304; "Prigg v. Pennsylvania," 16 Peters, 621; "Pollock v. Farmers Loan & Trust Co.," 157 U. S., 429.

> liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments were instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

The conciseness and apparent simplicity of this syllabus of fundamentals serve to conceal its profound significance, and its hackneyed repetition has reduced it almost to a perfunctory platitude in this generation. By express statement and reasonable implication, its content asserts the following essential propositions: The existence of a Creator, whose supernatural power has conferred upon human nature certain innate and inalienable rights; the personality and moral equality of all men in the eyes of this Divine Creator; government originates and is instituted as the natural product of man's divinely bestowed attributes and faculties, being the result of his social character and necessary to the protection of his natural rights; the particular form of government so instituted, and the organization and exercise of its powers, derive their existence and authority from the consent of the people governed; this consent, whether expressed or implied, is conditioned upon the powers of government being just powers, and justly administered by the governmental agency; the right of revolution against any government that destroys man's natural and inalienable rights, or usurps unjust power, or uses its powers unjustly and oppressively. It will be observed that the whole fabric of this conception of human government is based upon the necessity for some ultimate and stable source and standard of what is just or unjust; for justice, as thus conceived, consists in the preservation and security of man's natural rights. Manifestly, the Government itself cannot be allowed to fix and regulate this standard, nor can it safely be committed to the imperfect and mutable

judgment of the people at large. Therefore, the final test of social justice and civil liberty must lie in the bosom of the Creator who made man, and endowed him with the natural rights which government was instituted to protect; which is the equivalent of affirming that government is a Divine institution, and the Declaration of Independence so pronounces it.

Mr. Jefferson was the author of the Declaration, and more especially was he the supreme advocate of the doctrines announced in the paragraph above quoted. The foregoing amplification of his statement is fully warranted by his own language, and it is sustained by his other writings, and by the utterances of those who were associated with him in the preparation of that document. No more interesting and valuable a work could be done, than to exposit the real religious and moral convictions of the men who framed the Declaration and the Constitution, for they have been grossly misunderstood and misrepresented.[13]

[13] Mr. Jefferson has been called "a philosophical radical," and his critics have claimed that, in declaring that governments derive their just powers "from the consent of the governed," he adopted Rousseau's theory of the "social contract." Nothing could be more erroneous. He was not a disciple of Rousseau, not even a student of his writings; he never quoted from him, had no copy of his works in his library, and in his correspondence with John Adams they both speak in contemptuous condemnation of the French philosopher's vagaries. See Jefferson's "Works" (Mem. Ed.), Vol. XIII, 307, Vol. XIV, 157. Among the papers found after Jefferson's death in his library was the famous motto, said to have been adopted for his private seal, "Rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God." Randall ascribes the authorship of this to Benjamin Franklin. "Life of Jefferson," Vol. III, 585. Mr. Jefferson was nearer being a Unitarian than any other sect. He was far from being an atheist, and was an ardent admirer of the character and teachings of Jesus Christ. See the photographic reproduction of his little compilation, "The Life and Morals of Jesus of Nazareth, Extracted textually from the Gospels in Greek, Latin, French and English," commonly known as "Jefferson's Bible," with the Introduction by Dr. Cyrus Adler. "Works" (Mem. Ed.), Vol. XX. John Adams was bitterly cynical on religious subjects, harsh in his attacks upon past ecclesiastical "despotism," as he had studied it in Protestant and Puritan tradition; but at bottom a believer in God's government of the world and in the moral code of Christianity. Franklin, eccentric in all things, was not orthodox in religion, but his speech in the Constitutional Convention, supporting

The remarkable fact cannot be doubted that, whatever may have been the reason, the Fathers of the Republic, both in the Declaration of Independence and in the Federal Constitution, in their conception of the true origin and purpose of human governments, and in their determination to secure religious freedom and equality by the institutional separation of Church and State, adopted and followed the doctrines of the Catholic Church upon these subjects. It can scarcely have been due to the direct influence of any Catholic agency, although there were influential Catholics, like the Carrolls of Maryland, and Thomas FitzSimons of Pennsylvania, prominent in both of the bodies that framed the two instruments that contain these doctrines. It has also been shown that the leading spirits of that formative period in American institutions were familiar with the great Catholic writers on social and political fundamentals.[14] At any rate, the cardinal principles espoused

his motion that the proceedings be opened with daily prayer, sufficiently proves his views upon the relations of religion and government. He said: "I have lived, sir, a long time, and the longer I live, the more convincing proofs I see of this truth—that God governs in the affairs of men. And if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without His notice, is it possible that an empire can rise without His aid? We have been assured, sir, in the sacred writings, that 'except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it.' I firmly believe this; and I also believe that without His concurring aid we shall succeed, in this political building, no better than the builders of Babel." "The Madison Papers," Vol. II, 984-986; Elliot's "Debates," Vol. V, 253-255. These three, Jefferson, Adams, and Franklin, with Roger Sherman and R. R. Livingston, were the committee that reported the Declaration of Independence to the Continental Congress; and Sherman seconded Franklin's motion in the Constitutional Convention, just mentioned.

[14] "American Catholic Historical Review," Vol. III, 276-289 (1917); "The Church and the State," Ryan and Millar, Chap. VI. (1922). The correspondence between Madison, Jefferson, and Adams, and the books they read and had in their libraries, demonstrate their familiarity with Saint Augustine, Saint Thomas Aquinas, Bellarmine, Suarez, and the other Catholic publicists and theologians. It was the age of few books and solid erudition among men of learning in America. Jefferson's "Works," Vol. XIII, 307, Vol. XIV, 157; Rives, "Life and Times of Madison," Vol. I, 643-644; James Wilson, "Works," Vol. I, 4, 61, 212; Hamilton, "Works," Vol. VIII, 425-428.

and incorporated in the organic charters of American civil and constitutional law are easily recognizable, as substantially identical with those expounded and defended by the Church throughout her history. It is likewise apparent to the student of present-day conditions, that those principles are finding their stoutest, if not their chief, champions among the clergy and laity of the Catholic communion in America.

Quite apart, however, from considerations of social and political philosophy, there were practical and concrete reasons why the makers of the Constitution should have decided to establish religious freedom and equality in the United States. The past history and experience of their own country, and the immediate exigencies of its situation at that crisis, combined to compel such action, as a matter of policy as well as of principle. With the decline of the Spanish and French dominion in North America this continent passed rapidly to Great Britain. Spain had ruled here almost exclusively during the sixteenth century; France came with the opening years of the seventeenth; and between them, for almost 200 years, they explored, evangelized, and left an indelible impress upon the country, penetrating the heart of the wilderness, Christianizing its savage hordes, and peopling all the land with memories and monuments that will never fade. It was the age of Catholic unity and vigor, for the desolating and disintegrating forces of the Protestant movement had not yet reached the New World. The Council of Trent had stabilized and standardized the body of Catholic doctrine and discipline, and the Renaissance and Counter-Reformation had corrected abuses and purified corruptions. It was the age of the revival of Monastic zeal in the newly discovered territories; and whether in Mexico or Canada or along the Mississippi, with Champlain and Frontenac, or with Cortez and Coronado, the cavaliers and priests of the two ancient Catholic realms of Europe carried conquest and the Cross every-

where between the Western oceans. But wars and dynastic strifes rent the Old World with internecine bitterness, religion became the victim of secular rivalries, and the strength of missionary zeal was diverted from America to save the situation in continental Europe, thus losing what had been gained by two centuries of labor in the lands beyond seas. The Thirty Years War had begun the catastrophe and the Seven Years War ended it, and in 1763 the ownership of nearly all the continent east of the Mississippi, passed to British and Protestant domination.

With the earliest advent of English colonization in New England and Virginia the reign of religious proscription and persecution was inaugurated, and the long period, to the Revolution of the Colonies, was a dismal and disheartening record of fanatical discrimination and hostility towards liberty of thought, conscience, speech, and conduct in spiritual affairs. There was built up by law and governmental duress a despotic monopoly of religious belief and worship, taxing, oppressing, and proscribing the whole public to maintain ecclesiastical privileges, and persecuting all other forms of faith and worship not conformable to the established religion of the governing class.[15] This was in accord with the Protestant dogma before quoted—*cujus regio, ejus religio*—and, although Quakers and Dissenters from Episcopalianism were included in these proscriptions, it was against the adherents of the Catholic Church, "Papists," that the fiercest discrimination was levelled. Maryland, alone of all the Colonies, was the home and asylum of religious freedom and equality of rights, and she was finally subjected to the tyranny of Protestant bigotry during the civil wars in England in the seventeenth century. The Calverts—Lords Baltimore—had established that settle-

[15] Cobb, "The Rise of Religious Liberty in America"; Bacon, "History of American Christianity"; Schaff, "Church and State in the United States"; O'Gorman, "History of the Catholic Church in the United States."

ment as a refuge for the persecuted Catholics of England, and under Catholic rule it was always free from every form of religious distinction in civil and political rights.[16] Rhode Island was the child of Puritan oppression of the Baptists, and Roger Williams, its founder, was singularly intelligent and liberal in his notions of the proper relations between Church and State; but even there an odious law against Catholics was put into force. In Pennsylvania the Quakers and Irish immigrants, being very numerous and influential, were able to secure a measure of toleration, but no real liberty of faith. With the exceptions noted, the entire country owned by Great Britain, or inhabited by her colonists before the Revolution, was reduced to a state of spiritual slavery and intolerable subjection to religious coercion, in one form or another. Such a condition became so repugnant to the wise and generous spirits of the leading statesmen, that almost to a man they revolted against it when they came to found a new order of things. In Virginia the warfare against this system had been waged by Jefferson for years, and in 1786 he had procured the passage of the Statute for Religious Freedom, an achievement which he deemed so notable as to have it inscribed upon his tomb. Perhaps the most laudable and marvellous characteristic of the men who directed the formation of the Union and its government was their exemption from the bigotry and bitterness of anti-Catholic prejudice; and it should not be forgotten that every safe-guard which they erected against religious proscription, is a specific and enduring memorial of the Protestant persecutions that had disgraced the colonial period, and which they meant to forever prohibit in the future. A variety of causes contributed to produce this attitude, not merely of toleration, but of attachment to the principle of religious freedom and equality before the law. The natural virility and in-

[16] Russell, "The Land of Sanctuary."

dependence of mind of the patriots of that era inclined them to reject the narrow traditions of other times and older countries. Then, many of them were what were called "free-thinkers" in religion, and, as Mr. Jefferson expressed it, they believed that "it behooves every man who values liberty of conscience for himself to resist invasions of it in the case of others, or their case may, by change of circumstances, become his own."[17] An event occurred just on the eve of the Revolution that served to demonstrate to candid men the folly, if not the evil, of bigoted intolerance in matters of religious affiliation. In 1774, anticipating the revolt of her American Colonies, and desirous of holding the allegiance of the Canadian provinces, England extended to the French Catholics of Eastern Canada, by what was called the "Quebec Act," recognition and tolerance in their faith and worship. Whereupon, the Continental Congress of the Colonies, sitting at Philadelphia, influenced thereto by a fanatical faction of Protestant bigots, adopted resolutions protesting against this legislation, and denouncing it as "in an extreme degree dangerous."[18] This unfriendly act towards the Catholics of the neighboring English colony had a controlling effect in alienating the sympathy of Canada for the Revolution, and no doubt prevented that country from joining the cause of the Colonies. Canada held aloof, and the invasion under Montgomery was defeated at Quebec during the War. The alliance with France—"eldest daughter of the Church"—and her valiant aid in winning the independence of America, cemented the growing sentiment of liberality, as was testified to by General Washington at the end of the struggle. The gallant and loyal services of the Catholics throughout the Colonies, as men and officers in

[17] Letter to Dr. Benjamin Rush, April 21, 1803.

[18] Shea, "History of the Church," 44-46; O'Gorman, "History of the Catholic Church in the United States," 250, 253; McCaffrey, "History of the Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century," Vol. II, 269.

the army of the Revolution, disarmed the old antagonisms and opened an era of fraternal feeling among all who had fought for and loved the new nation. The predominant desire of the representative men of 1787 was to unite, solidify, and perpetuate the fellowship of all Americans, and to extend to all the world an invitation to find here the freedom, concord, and hopeful prospect that were to be the chief virtues of the young republic. "The catholic principles of republicanism" was a favorite phrase of Jefferson, and he was the dominant factor in the demand for independence of religion and government, with utmost liberty of thought and action in spiritual and intellectual aspiration and achievement. He was the most outspoken and courageous champion of the untried experiment of a free church in a free state. The Constitution did not contain any specific provision on the subject of the relation between religion and the secular powers, except in Article VI which prescribes that "no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification for any Office or public Trust under the United States." Mr. Madison states that this was adopted in the Convention with North Carolina voting "no," and Maryland "divided"; but the official "Journal of the Federal Convention" says it was passed unanimously.[19] There was considerable opposition to this provision in Massachusetts and North Carolina. Prior to the Constitution religious tests were enforced despotically in all the colonies, except Maryland and Rhode Island. In Pennsylvania all officers were required to swear to disbelief in "the doctrine of Transubstantiation," "the adoration of the Virgin Mary and all Saints," and "the Sacrifice of the Mass," as "superstitious and idolatrous"; yet this was the land of the meek and kindly Quakers, who themselves were persecuted in Virginia and elsewhere.

When the original draft of the Constitution was pub-

[19] Elliot's "Debates," Vol. I, 277, and Vol. V, 498.

lished, after its completion by the Convention, there was a very general demand that amendments to it should be made, specifically protecting the liberties of the people in their personal and private security, both of property and person, and of opinion, religion, and utterance by speech and press; it was said there must be a "Bill of Rights." Mr. Jefferson, who was in France in the service of the country, immediately wrote to General Washington, to Mr. Madison, and other leading men, expressing disappointment at the omission of these guarantees, and the hope that the good sense of the people would supply the defects.[20] He outlined practically what afterwards became the first ten amendments, and particularly insisted upon the First Amendment, which is the magna charta of religious freedom under Federal law.[21] It is in these words: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances." Five of the States, while adopting the Constitution, proposed amendments to it, New York, New Hampshire, and Virginia proposing in one form or another a declaration of religious freedom, and North Carolina refused to ratify it without such an amendment. The first session of the First Congress, on September 25, 1789, submitted to the legislatures of the several States the first ten amendments in the form in which they now stand, the First Amendment being prepared and offered by Mr. Madison. They were all adopted by the States, although there is no official record that Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Georgia ever voted upon them. It will be observed that the Amendment does not define "religion,"

[20] Jefferson, "Works" (Mem. Ed.) "Autobiography," Vol. I, 117-119.

[21] See the case of "Reynolds v. United States," 98 U. S. Supreme Court Reports, 145-168, for the full history and meaning of the First Amendment.

and the Supreme Court has said that, to understand what is meant by it, we must resort "to the history of the times in the midst of which the provision was adopted."[22] The Court, in the case cited, also quotes from the preamble to the Virginia statute of religious freedom, prepared and passed by Jefferson in 1786, as follows: "That to suffer the civil magistrate to intrude his powers into the field of opinion, and to restrain the profession or propagation of principles on supposition of their ill tendency, is a dangerous fallacy, which at once destroys all religious liberty; it is time enough for the rightful purposes of civil government for its officers to interfere when principles break out into overt acts against peace and good order." "In these two sentences," declares the Supreme Court, "is found the true distinction between what properly belongs to the church and what to the state."[23] This decision upheld the validity of the Act of Congress prohibiting and punishing polygamy in Utah and elsewhere in the Federal territories. The State courts have followed this view of the meaning of "religion" and "the free exercise thereof."[24] Religious

[22] "Reynolds v. U. S.," supra.

[23] The Court quotes from Mr. Jefferson's reply to the Baptist Association of Danbury, as follows: "Believing with you that religion is a matter which lies solely between man and his God; that he owes account to none other for his faith or his worship; that the legislative powers of the Government reach actions only, and not opinions, I contemplate with sovereign reverence that act of the whole American people which declared that their Legislature should make 'no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof,' thus building a wall of separation between church and state. Adhering to this expression of the supreme will of the Nation, in behalf of the rights of conscience, I shall see, with sincere satisfaction, the progress of those sentiments which should tend to restore man to all his natural rights, convinced that he has no natural right in opposition to his social duties." The Court then remarks: "Coming as this does from the acknowledged leader of the advocates of the measure, it may be accepted almost as an authoritative declaration of the scope and effect of the amendment thus secured."

[24] "State v. Powell," 58 Ohio St., 324-341; "Matter of Frazee," 63 Mich., 396-405; "Frolickstein v. Mobile," 40 Ala., 725; "State ex rel. Weiss v. District Board," 76 Wisc., 177; "Ferritur v. Tyler," 48 Vermont, 444-467; "Watson v. Jones," 13 Wallace, 679, 728.

freedom is held in reasonable subservience to the equal rights of others and to the paramount interest and safety of the public, as provided for by general and uniform laws. This is in effect the rule laid down by Roger Williams in 1655,[25] when he likened the civil commonwealth to a ship that puts to sea with a passenger list composed of Papists, Protestants, Jews, and Turks; the master of the ship cannot coerce their religious faith and worship, but he may compel obedience to the rules and regulations necessary to safe navigation and a peaceful, prosperous voyage.

As has been noticed before, this Amendment does not at all limit or control the several States in their legislation concerning religion, being merely a restriction upon Congress.[26] But all of the States have adopted similar, and, in most instances, more detailed and specific guarantees of liberty of conscience, freedom of religious opinion and worship, and the institutional separation of church and state. Judge Cooley correctly states that:

> A careful examination of the American constitutions will disclose the fact that nothing is more fully set forth or more plainly expressed than the determination of their authors to preserve and to perpetuate religious liberty, and to guard against the slightest approach towards the establishment of an inequality in the civil and political rights of citizens, which shall have for its basis only their differences of religious belief.[27]

He enumerates the following as being unlawful in all of the States, by constitutional inhibitions: 1, any law respecting an establishment of religion; 2, compulsory support of religious instruction; 3, compulsory attendance upon religious worship; 4, restraints upon the free exercise of religion;

[25] "The Bloody Tenent of Persecution," 1-4; "Rhode Island Historical Society," IV, 241; Gervinus, "Introduction to Study of the Nineteenth Century."

[26] See Note 12, ante; Story, "Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States," Section 1879.

[27] "Constitutional Limitations," 7th Ed., p. 659.

5, restraints upon the expression of religious belief.[28] Some of the States prohibit the holding of office by any person who denies the existence of the Supreme Being, or Almighty God,[29] while most of them prohibit any religious test or qualification for holding office, a public trust, testifying as a witness, serving as a juror, and like functions of citizenship.

A most prolific subject of controversy has been the effect of these provisions upon Bible-reading or other religious exercises in the public schools. In Nebraska, Wisconsin, and Illinois such practices have been held to be unlawful, although the decisions to that effect have been somewhat confusing and inconclusive.[30] In most of the other States the contrary view has prevailed. In Massachusetts and Connecticut the courts have said that the school laws are "based upon the Christian religion as the foundation of their moral obligation," and therefore cannot be deemed to prevent the teaching of Christian doctrines.[31] Perhaps the best statement of the law as construed in those jurisdictions that uphold the Bible in the public schools is found in a Texas case, in these words:

> Christianity is so interwoven with the web and woof of the State Government that to sustain the contention that the constitution prohibits reading of the Bible, offering prayer, and singing religious songs in any public building of the Government, would produce a condition bordering upon moral anarchy, and starve the moral and spiritual natures of the many out of deference to the few.[32]

[28] "Constitutional Limitations," pp. 663-668, and notes.

[29] Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Tennessee.

[30] "State ex rel. Weiss v. School Dist.," 76 Wisc., 177; "People v. Board of Education," 245 Ill., 334; "State v. Scheve," 65 Neb., 853.

[31] "Barnes v. First Parish," 6 Mass., 411; "First Cong. Soc. v. Atwater," 23 Conn., 42.

[32] "Church v. Bullock," 100 S. W. Reporter, 1025. The decisions in Wisconsin and Nebraska exclude the Bible only so far as its reading may be "sectarian," but permit it for teaching "the fundamental principles of ethics." They do not attempt to define these words, which leaves the whole matter uncertain and open to unending strife.

This conclusion contains a very dangerous and unsound proposition. It is substantially the argument that formerly supported the whole system of state religion and religious proscriptions. The First Amendment, and similar legislation in the States, had their origin and reason precisely in the determination to protect the "few" against the "many." And the distinctive glory of American constitutional law is that it guarantees the rights and safety of minorities. As long as Christianity presents such a variety of aspects as the Protestant sects have evolved, there is no wisdom or safety in relaxing the rule laid down by Jefferson and the fathers of religious freedom in this country. Under existing conditions the only practicable solution is that announced by the Supreme Court of Ohio:

> To teach the doctrines of infidelity and thereby teach that Christianity is false, is one thing; and to give no instruction on the subject is quite another thing. The only fair and impartial method, where serious objection is made, is to let each sect give its own instruction elsewhere than in the public State schools, where all of necessity are to meet.[33]

Serious controversies have also arisen in reference to laws for the observance of the Sabbath, and those exempting church property from taxation. The validity of both classes of legislation has been uniformly upheld by the courts, as not being in violation of the American system of religious freedom and separation of church and state.[34] The stronger argument, if it be one, has been urged against exemption from taxation; but when the vast and valuable contribution which religious foundations have made and are making to the culture, the civilization, the charity, and the practical betterment of all the people of the country, to say nothing of their influence for morality and good government, is properly estimated and balanced against the comparatively small value of the taxes remitted, no

[33] "Board of Education v. Minor," 23 Ohio St., 211, 252.
[34] Zollman, "American Civil Church Law," 27-31, and notes. (1917)

amount of theoretical reasoning or abstract prejudice will outweigh it. Besides, many of the churches, particularly the Catholic Church, pay a substantial sum in the way of taxes upon property not actually used for religious, educational, and charitable purposes.

The reign of religious bigotry and proscription prior to the adoption of the Constitution was slow and obstinate in relinquishing its sway in the older States. Notwithstanding the enactment of the statute of 1786 in Virginia, the Episcopal church clung to its pretended claim to the "glebe lands," and it was not until 1840 that the final divorce of state and church was accomplished.[35] It was 1833 before Massachusetts abolished the Calvinistic theocracy that had ruled since Pilgrim and Puritan days.[36] Connecticut rid her laws of religious discrimination in 1819.[37] In 1700 a law, still in force, was passed in Pennsylvania making blasphemy a statutory crime. In this State also one must believe in Almighty God and a future state of rewards and punishments in order to hold office.[38] New Hampshire still retains her Bill of Rights and statutes discriminating in favor of Protestant Christians.[39] South Carolina excludes clergymen from office.[40] Missouri authorizes support of religious schools by parishes and towns. In Maryland alone marriage must be sanctioned by the church or some religious ceremony. The name of Christ is not mentioned in any State constitution, but God is recognized in all of them except those of Michigan and West Virginia. The Constitution of the United States nowhere mentions the Deity or Christianity.

Thus it will clearly appear that the legal and constitu-

[35] Howison, "History of Virginia," Vol. II, 396-405.
[36] Schouler, "History of U. S.," II, 252, III, 222; "Johns Hopkins Studies," X, 99-104.
[37] Johnston, "History of Connecticut," 352.
[38] "American Historical Association," 1887-88.
[39] Sanford Cobb, "Rise of Religious Liberty in America."
[40] Ibid.

tional status of religion in its relation to our government is not one of toleration merely, which implies favors bestowed or privileges granted, but of equality and freedom, which implies rights recognized and secured; and that this occurs in virtue of the natural, that is to say the Divine, constitution of society and government.

The epochal innovation which the United States made in government, of prohibiting state religions and securing universal freedom of religious faith and worship, has now been in operation for a century and a third, and it is possible to estimate some of its results, as well as to forecast the probable progress of its existing consequences. The relations between church and state grew out of the constitutional doctrine of liberty of conscience in the civil forum. In a larger sense, it is the product of the principle asserted and contended for by the Church from her foundation, and which constitutes the most characteristic difference between Paganism and Christianity: the principle that human society is controlled by two authorities, a spiritual as well as a temporal, which are coördinate and coequal in their dual obligations upon individual and social life, but each of them supreme and independent in its own sphere. Real Americanism consists in the acceptance and preservation of the distinction between these two authorities—between the spirit politic and the body politic; in the inherited as well as the instituted character of American nationality; in the transmitted as well as the conventional rules and standards of thought and conduct that were adopted by the Government, and are still dominant in the civilization of the people. So considered, it cannot be questioned that Americanism and Catholicism are not merely compatible, but closely consonant, in their conception of both the spiritual and the temporal powers. Catholicity is the essential quality of both the one and the other. This is proved by two indisputable facts. It is demonstrated by the attitude of the Church towards the laws and the tradi-

tions of the Nation—her conduct in her external relations with the public; and by the experience of the Church herself, in her internal development and organic progress.

It is a matter of profound satisfaction, to every American Catholic, that at no time in the past three hundred years, before the Revolution and since the Constitution, has the Church or any responsible representative of Catholicism violated the principle of religious freedom and equality. Notwithstanding that her faith has been proscribed; her simplest rights denied and spurned; her people persecuted, exiled, pillaged and penalized by law and popular prejudice; her institutions plundered and burned, her priests murdered and visited with every contumely that malice could devise and execute, and even yet organized bands of masked marauders menace her security and attack her institutions of education and benevolence, while magazines and newspapers are published broadcast to falsify and malign her members and desecrate her Sacraments,—in spite of all these provocations to resentment and retaliation, not a single outbreak of resistance or revenge, beyond that of actual self-defence, has ever been perpetrated by the Catholic citizenship of any part of the Union. This is due to no other cause than the fundamental belief and practice of Catholicism, that respects and upholds the supremacy of the law and the principles of religious freedom.

The second proof of the intimate and sympathetic tie that exists between American institutions and the Church is found in the wonderful success and growth of all her interests and undertakings. Nowhere else in modern times has she prospered and developed with such vigor and usefulness as in the United States, and more particularly in the last sixty years. A Protestant writer, who was an official statistician of the Government, comparing the religious statistics of the United States for 1890, 1900, and 1910, remarks: "The miracle of growth, of course, is the

Roman Catholic. It has been three times as great as that of the Methodist group, and six times as great as that of the Lutheran group."[41] This marvellous vitality and progress attest the actual and practical identity of principles and policies that animate the American Government and the Church in America; it disproves utterly the calumny that Catholicism is the creature of bigotry and intolerance, and can flourish only by the aid of a despotic control over secular governments.

Still another and a third proof of the actual and potential value and benefit of the inherent sympathy between the Church and American ideals and institutions, lies in the present and prospective condition of religious and secular affairs. Protestantism has about reached the logical crisis to which its tenets and traditions inevitably lead. Its entire system of faith and organization is based upon two incompatible and mutually destructive dogmas: the dogma of state religion, and that of "private judgment." The one necessarily implies religious despotism, while the other must issue in religious anarchy. In the United States, it has been deprived of state recognition and support, so that the opposite doctrine of private judgment has had full and unrestrained sway; with the result that the Protestant sects are almost too numerous to be counted, and are multiplying with each generation.[42] In this predicament several tendencies are to be observed. One is to form an artificial union for propaganda purposes, eliminating all the essential features of revealed truth and doctrine; another is to revise and remodel Christianity into a convenient and flexible system of social service and ethical philosophy; and still another, and at this time active, movement is towards substituting the police powers of the state for the loss of moral restraints consequent upon the

[41] Carroll, (Rev. H. K., Methodist), "The Religious Forces of the United States." (1912)

[42] Carroll, "The Religious Forces in the United States," xiv, xv.

decay of fundamental faith. These are futile attempts to prevent the collapse of Protestant Christianity, and, what is worse from the point of view of the secular welfare of the country, it deprives the spirit politic of the nation of the religious and moral factor hitherto contributed by the separated sects. Meantime, the forces of Secularism, Socialism, Sociological Evolution, Materialistic Monism, Bolshevism—in short, Modernism, "the synthesis of all heresies"—are attacking the security of Government, the sources of social and political sanity, the bulwarks of "liberty regulated by law." In this critical and imminent situation of national peril, the Church stands alone and steadfast in defense of American principles and institutions, taking her inspiration from the Pauline maxim, quoted by the Pope in his encyclical on "The Christian Constitution of States": "For the powers that are, are ordained of God." This is being seen and applauded by non-Catholic jurists, statesmen, patriots, and philosophers in this and other lands. It is being recognized by candid men of all creeds and classes, that Atheism and Materialism are incompatible with stable laws or permanent freedom and justice. Napoleon, speaking of the Concordat of 1801, said that he saw in the Church not the mystery of the Incarnation, but the mystery of social order; and later in life he declared that if Christianity is a delusion, it is a very useful one. Plutarch, in one of his treatises against the Epicureans, gave this remarkable testimony to the indispensable virtue of religious sentiment in secular affairs:

> There never was a state of atheists. You may travel all over the world, and you may find cities without walls, without a king, without a mint, without theatre or gymnasium; but you will nowhere find a city without a God, without prayer, without oracle, without sacrifice. Sooner may a city stand without foundations, than a State without belief in the gods. This is the bond of all society, and the pillar of all legislation.[43]

[43] "Against Colotes."

The Church today, as always, represents in national life, as in faith and morals, the principles upon which social order and organization are founded, upon which man's natural rights are predicated, upon which free and normal government is erected, upon which the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence were conceived and executed. She needs the sympathy and protection of the American Government, as she needs that of all proper temporalities; but the Government needs her moral support and religious incentive in a much greater degree. They have heretofore worked in perfect accord, and there is every reason to believe that the future will see no breach between them. If they are both true to the principles they hold in common, they cannot but coöperate in cordial harmony, in bringing to pass in this western world the consummation of Christ's commandment: "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's."

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# THE APPLICATION OF CATHOLIC PRINCIPLES TO CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL PROBLEMS

HENRY JONES FORD, PH. D.

IN Strachey's candid biography of Queen Victoria it is related that when Baron Stockmar, the mentor of the royal household, was consulted about the education of the Prince of Wales, he advised that while the child "must unquestionably be brought up in the creed of the Church of England," it might be in accordance with the spirit of the times to exclude from his religious training the inculcation of belief in "the supernatural doctrines of Christianity."

That is quite typical of what has been going on in modern education everywhere outside of the Catholic Church. In general, the intellectual climate of the schools has been such as to produce complete ignorance of religious concerns in all the common grades of instruction, while among the elite who pursue advanced studies it has been such as to foster a polite and even patronizing attitude towards religious institutions, with some fondness for the denominational attachments of one's own ancestry and much appreciation of some of the social values pertaining to Christian ethics, coupled with disdain for theological dogmas and entire discredit of the traditional claim of Christianity to a supernatural origin. Science may be taught dogmatically and in this field people may have a stock of primary truths which they never would have credited if they had been left to their own notions on the subject, but religious truth has been commonly abandoned to individual taste and fancy.

So long as the result was merely the multiplication of sects the bizarre spectacle did not seriously concern the

upper classes, too busy with finance, or politics, or culture, or amusements, to attend to the vagaries of popular religion, but the case is different now. It is quite apparent that the religious vacuum provided in popular education is now the scene of an inrush of ardor, zeal and devotion almost such as religion inspires, but which is in its nature contemptuously anti-religious and has for its object complete social reconstruction upon secular principles. The world is now confronted by the situation described by Cardinal Newman over eighty years ago in his prophetic utterance:

> Catholic Truth and Rationalism! Then indeed will be the stern encounter, when two real and living principles, simple, entire and consistent, one in the Church, the other out of it, at length rush upon each other, contending not for names and words or half views, but for elementary notions and distinctive moral characteristics.

That clash has come. These four words state with exact precision the cause of these enormous times.

So much for the situation. And now, what does it call for in the application of Catholic principles? In the first place, it should be recognized that the prime consideration now is defense of Christian institutions and to that end every effort should be made to close up the ranks and unite all Christians, so far as union among them is possible without abandonment of essential principle. We should not shut our eyes to the mistakes that led up to the present situation, for that would be apt to let us in for more mistakes, but it is not worth while going on with the old debate as to where rests the original responsibility for the break-up of Christendom. That responsibility was so widely distributed that none of the parties to the initial phase in the disruption of religious authority can escape blame. The results that have accrued in the cessation of Christian training and in the decline of Christian morality were not intended, and in confronting the appalling consequences the immediate question is not who is to blame, but what is to be done about it? Just as the allies in the late war had

to lay aside old antipathies in getting together for common action against the common foe, so, too, it is the duty of all Christians to act together where they have a common interest.

Upon this point American Catholics need perhaps to revise their views. They have in general a feeling that the current interest in denominational union or federation is like the usual talk about harmony in the party,—a sinking of principle for the sake of material advantage. It is true that Catholics cannot themselves take part in movements towards organic union. They do not have to seek that which they already possess and which they are bound to maintain,—an obligation which in its nature is wholly incompatible with participation in any scheme of union or federal relationship with other denominations. But because they cannot participate it does not follow that Catholics should view with indifference or disdain the strong reaction now going on against sectarianism. There are undoubtedly cases in which no essential principle stands in the way of denominational union, as, for instance, the Church North and Church South divisions produced by our Civil War. Over two hundred distinct denominations figure in the census reports of the United States, and surely among them the differences are not so great but what much could be done in the way of union. This seems to be particularly important in the case of country churches.

Such systematic surveys as are summed up in Gill and Pinchot's "Six Thousand Country Churches," indicate a state of collapse in the apparatus of religious instruction in rural communities. At one time they were overchurched by denominational rivalry, but now whole communities are left without active churches, the rise in cost of upkeep and service having been more than could be borne by the weak little congregations that formerly occupied the field. The only practicable road of escape from this disastrous situation, which is having frightful consequences, appears

UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

ADMIRAL BENSON
*being decorated with the order of Knight of St. Gregory*
*by Cardinal Gibbons*

to be in union services, or in denominational division of territory, both of which plans are being pursued. To Catholics, who, in whatever part of the world they are, find everywhere the same Faith and hear everywhere the same doctrine, it seems absurd that a jumble of doctrinal views should be found in one congregation or that religious belief should vary from county to county, but even that is better than no religious belief at all. Is the Catholic Church in this country now in a position to take over the task of caring for such rural areas? To develop the means of doing so is one of her great problems, but those means can not be improvised. Meanwhile, so far as concentration of effort and economizing of resources in denominational activities are attainable, they ought to be encouraged, and the attitude of Catholics ought to be appreciative and sympathetic. It should be considered that as the need of unity is recognized and as means for attaining it are earnestly sought, a direction is given to thought and effort which leads to the Catholic Church. On these matters much light is poured by Father Leslie J. Walker's recent work on "The Problem of Reunion," which handles its subject with knowledge, candor and ability that give it marked timeliness and great value.

The maladies of our times are all due primarily to the fact that there is no constitution of moral authority that is generally recognized and obeyed. Recently an Anglican clergyman, writing to the London *Daily Telegraph,* put the case in a nutshell when he said:

> All philosophies, economics and social schemes have been tried and failed. The wrangling and the strife only increase. There is no driving power in anything strong enough to make people exercise self-control, justice or sympathy except religion.

But religion itself does not possess that power unless it has authority and nowhere is authority to be found, or indeed, even the pretence of authority, save in the Catholic

Church. At the most no more than good influence can be claimed for the various societies of Christians outside of her fold, and as George Washington pithily observed, "influence is not government." It was long ago discerned by keen thinkers, even when viewing the subject from a purely rational standpoint, that revolt against the Catholic Church involved a subversion of authority full of social peril. John Stuart Mill was probably the most eminent exponent of nineteenth century rationalism. In an essay contributed to the *Edinburgh Review*, in January, 1844, he described the Middle Ages as a great creative epoch in which were laid the foundations of modern civilization, and he declared that "the liberties of the Church in that age were those of mankind." That is now the common opinion of all impartial historians. But Mill, who was thoroughgoing, looked forward as well as backward and committed himself to statements which now have the ring of prophecy. He held that when the Pope "claimed the right of censuring and denouncing" violation of the moral law, "he assumed a function necessary at all times." Strangely enough, in view of Mill's own politics as an English Liberal, he raised the question whether "censure by newspaper and public meetings, which has succeeded to censure by the Church" will be found to suffice for social needs. This question, raised by a rationalist thinker seventy-eight years ago, in a time of unbounded optimism as to the sufficiency of Liberal principles, is now a source of intense anxiety. If Mill were alive to-day what a striking confirmation of his fears he would find in the confused diplomatic intrigues and futile negotiations for international settlements now taking place, as compared with the long list of successful mediations by the Popes.[1] Events are ruthlessly exposing the necessity of restoring the authority which has heretofore saved civilization, which can again save civilization, and which is the only power in the world that can.

[1] See *America*, February 4, 1922, for a list of them.

Although Christian ethics should be, and still is to the extent that it continues to inform legislation, enforceable by law, yet spiritual authority is in its nature a matter for voluntary acceptance; so in this field no obligation rests upon Catholics save to adhere to the Faith and discharge the personal duties it imposes. If modern statesmanship imagines that it can solve the social problems of the age without the aid of religious authority, it is free to have its way and endure the consequences. The portents are everywhere visible that the world is passing through a period of exuviation in which old tissues are being cast and new tissues are being formed that will shape the economics and politics of the future. It is in this field that the application of Catholic principles to contemporary social problems is most important. The process is by its nature gradual, unobtrusive and even obscure, but some features of it are now sufficiently manifest to supply matter for specific notice.

In the main, the process is carried on by the multitudinous activities of the daily life of the faithful, the immediate effects of which may be scarcely perceptible, but which build up social structure by steady accretion as in the growth of coral rock. We have an instance of vast unconscious achievement of this character in what has happened in Canada, where the 70,000 Catholics who were brought under Protestant rule in 1763 have increased until they now number over 3,000,000. Quebec, the province in which Catholics preponderate, has the highest record for school attendance and the lowest record for crime among the ten provinces, and since political consequence naturally attends social importance, out of the nineteen ministers forming the present Canadian cabinet, seven are Catholics and in addition, the speaker of the House of Commons is a Catholic. Our own New England has experienced a change of religious complexion almost as impressive. The latest census returns record nearly twice as many

Catholics in Massachusetts alone as the whole United States contains of the present adherents of the Congregational churches founded by the Puritans who first had possession of New England and impressed all its original institutions with their polity. Phenomena of this character have been time and again recurrent all through the twenty centuries of Christianity. Again and again the Church has been wasted and reduced, her own offices have been disgraced by unworthy tenures and her reputation smirched by political entanglements, great populations have renounced her authority, and statesmanship has proclaimed that the Church is down and out at last, but she goes on with her work and bides her time, and when events have run their course and consequences have become apparent, the world suddenly wakes up to the fact that what had been viewed as a period of decadence was a replenishing of her strength, an energizing of her functions and the prelude to fresh activities. That is just what is happening now. The statesmanship of the world has awakened to the fact that when it ignores the Catholic Church it does so to its own hurt. It is now a recognized mark of enlightened policy to seek relations with the Vatican and to respect the influence of the Church as a basis of social order.

Change in conditions induces change in behavior. Roughly speaking, the period from 1848 to 1919 may be characterized as one in which the Church was in a state of siege, in which its ordinary attitude was one of firm endurance. But now, although the siege is not fully abandoned, it is no longer pressed and terms of accommodation are being sought. The attitude of the Church is now predominantly one of vigorous activity. It was a decisive recognition of this new era when Pius XI began his pontificate by appearing on the outside balcony of Saint Peter's to impart his first apostolic benediction—*urbi et orbi*—to the city and to the world. But this formal inauguration of the new era is the outcome of long preparation, during

which resources have been collected, methods have been improved and lines of effort have been marked out whose special feature is the prominence of lay associations and activities. When the time arrives for calm observation and real values can be discerned, the most important thing accomplished during the cycle of innovation through which the world has been moving will be seen to be the constructive work done by the Church on democratic foundations. Contemporary opinion was most impressed by achievements in science, art and literature, but their true importance was quite subsidiary.

The principal documents have been collected in a work entitled "The Church and Labor," by the Reverend Doctor John A. Ryan and the Reverend Joseph Husslein, prepared and edited for the Department of Social Action of the National Catholic Welfare Council. The story begins with a mention of the two great precursors of the modern Catholic social movement, Frederick Ozanam in France and Bishop von Ketteler in Germany. Their activities date from the year of revolutions, 1848. Ozanam directed attention to charity as the guiding principle of effort; von Ketteler put social justice in the leading place with charity as the chief motive. It was perhaps due more to circumstances than to any difference in aims that von Ketteler's work has excelled in organic continuity and in structural influence. William Emanuel, Baron von Ketteler (1811-1877) came of a noble and wealthy family. He had all the educational opportunities of his order and his career opened along lines that promised only the civic eminence to which men of his order might naturally aspire. A life-long mark was left by his ebullient youth in that the tip of his nose was sliced off in a student duel. Nothing seemed more unlikely at first than that he would become a prelate of the Church and a great organizer of Christian democracy, for he studied law and in 1834 entered public administration. A man of commanding figure, impressive personality and

great oratorical power, he would have undoubtedly risen high in the public service, but by one of those revolutions of thought and feeling which the Catholic Church can inspire, in 1838 he cast away ambition, resigned his post and apparently sacrificed his career by humbly submitting to study and discipline for years until he had qualified himself for the priesthood, to which he was ordained in 1844. During the revolutionary year of 1848 he attracted general attention and inaugurated an energetic movement by a series of sermons on "The Great Social Questions of the Day." In 1850 he was appointed Bishop of Mainz. During his long episcopate he never ceased his fruitful activity in behalf of the working classes, and his great administrative abilities gave permanent organization and direction to Catholic social forces in Germany. The movement he organized is practical in its activities. It promotes coöperative enterprise and operates coöperative stores; it founds banks and building associations; it provides legal assistance for its members; it champions legislative measures, the details of which are worked out with skill and prudence. It has produced many treatises, displaying ability that commands attention and inspires discussion, and it sustains a flourishing periodical press securing publicity for its aims and activities.

The story of the struggle of this movement with the forces of State absolutism on the one hand and the spread of revolutionary Socialism on the other, forms a fascinating chapter of modern history. Among its incidents was the famous encyclical letter *Rerum Novarum* by Pope Leo XIII, the greatest pronouncement made by any of the Popes on the condition of the working classes. In reference to it Pope Leo himself said: "Ketteler was my great precursor." The fullest account of the movement now accessible to English readers is perhaps that contained in a series of articles in the *Dublin Review,* in 1908 and 1909. Probably no greater transformation in the life of a nation has ever

taken place than has attended the progress of this movement in Germany. When it began, the Church was bound hand and foot by the State, and priests were constantly subject to the dictation of the civil authorities. The Archbishop of Cologne was actually imprisoned for defending the rights of Catholic marriage. Now the Catholic Church is the only institution that has emerged from the war with augmented strength, and all orderly activity pivots on its support. What is left of the old State Churches of Germany seeks close alliance with the Catholic Church in defense of Christian principles of social and political action and even Protestant Prussia has had a Catholic for its Prime Minister.

A movement of the same general nature began in France in 1886, an account of which may be found in a recent work on "The Labor Problem and the Social Catholic Movement in France" by Professor Parker T. Moon of Columbia University. Similar methods of organization extended into Belgium, Switzerland and Austria-Hungary before the war and they now appear to be penetrating Italy and Spain, but exact statistics as to conditions since the war are not yet available. It is, however, plain that the political situation in Italy has been profoundly modified by present Catholic activities.

An impressive exhibition of the international importance and moderating influence of the movement was made by the sessions of the First International Democratic Congress, held in Paris in December, 1921. It was attended by Catholic delegates from twenty-one different countries, and the application of Catholic principles to contemporary social problems formed the subject of detailed practical discussion. Incidental to the movement is a literary activity of such power and brilliancy that no one who pays any attention to serious literature can fail to notice it. Catholic writers are producing works in economics, history, criticism and philosophy whose value is everywhere recognized by

candid scholarship. The growth of the scientific spirit in historical writing is of inestimable value to Catholic truth by sweeping away the old litter of calumny and deceit that formerly obstructed honest inquiry.

Candor requires the acknowledgment that until recently the general attitude of the Catholics of this country to the social movement of the times has been rather colonial. We have been in the main dependent on the work of European thinkers for the enlargement of our intellectual interests and the direction of the new social forces. Individual American contributions of marked power and importance might be cited, but they were isolated and could not be classed as part of a general movement, and as a consequence they did not receive the notice nor produce the effect that would have resulted had they appeared in Europe. Indeed, appreciation of their significance was more apt to be displayed in Europe than in the United States. This was notably the case with the late Father Zahm, whose works on scientific theory and Catholic doctrine were translated into French, Italian and Spanish, and apparently excited more extensive interest abroad than in his own country.

There are ample indications that such differences are not the result of any want of capacity in American Catholic scholarship, but are due to special circumstances. Until recently the social problems that confronted the Catholic Church in Europe did not press with anything like the same intensity in this country, and moreover, we had problems of our own that taxed all our energies. In Europe the field of conflict is at least well churched. In the United States the Church has still a vast field yet to occupy. The point was well brought out by Professor J. Carlton Hayes in his address to the Catholic Women's National Convention in December, 1921. Pointing out that within a century American Catholics have increased from about 40,000 to over 18,000,000, he remarked:

> Nevertheless, in spite of the Church's amazing growth, American Catholics have had no such influence on the thought and life of the whole nation as their numbers would lead us to expect. They have come too recently from Europe; they have been distributed too unevenly throughout the country; they have had to toil in a new land for bare subsistence; they have had to disarm criticism and prejudice; they have had to build churches and seminaries and schools.

But the war has made a great change. In collecting her resources to meet that emergency the Church has developed organization that will be permanent in its character and expansive in its activities. In the Knights of Columbus the United States has the largest Catholic society in the world, and it has taken rank among the most active and influential. It was a conspicuous factor in the work performed by the National Catholic War Council established by the Hierarchy of the Catholic Church in the United States (See Volume II) immediately after the declaration of war. The glorious story of the work of this Council is told in "American Catholics in the War," by Michael Williams. The end of the war has not put a stop to the work of this organization, but marks a new beginning. The National Catholic War Council became the National Catholic Welfare Council. Concert of action on a national scale is now as marked among the Catholic laity of the United States as was the parochial and retiring disposition in times gone by. And it should be noted as a circumstance which secures the permanent importance of the new agencies of Catholic influence, that they do not in any way supersede or impair the strength and solidity of the diocesan organization on which they rest and to which they are related as flowers are to their stalk and root. The Catholic Church remains what it has always been in the nature of its principles and in the character of its authority. What is now happening is an exhibition of the efficacy of Catholic prin-

ciples in application to social problems, such as the Church, varying her methods with the occasion, has made at various epochs when other institutions have given way and her resources are invoked to sustain a falling world.

# CATHOLICS AND AMERICAN POLITICS

ELMER MURPHY

IT has not been of their own choosing that the relationship of Catholics in the United States to the political development of the country has been different from that of the adherents of other creeds. From the beginning of American political history there have been many of the Faith who have taken a conspicuous part in public affairs, shouldered the burdens of state and devoted their energies and fortunes to the establishment and upbuilding of the Republic. The part played by Catholics was not confined merely to the discovery of the continent and the exploration of the vast stretches of virgin wilderness. They, no less than other colonists, were endowed with political ideals, the raw material out of which American government was fashioned.

Thomas Dongan, the Catholic governor of the colony of New York, whose term of service was brought to an abrupt end by the advent of William and Mary to the throne of England, and Governor Calvert, deputed by Lord Baltimore to take charge of the affairs of the colony of Maryland, were the forerunners of a long line of distinguished Catholics whose names are recorded in American annals. In point of time, at least, they were the precursors of the Catholic jurists, diplomatists and legislators who have much to do with the formulation and perpetuation of American political ideals.

The two governors are isolated figures in early colonial history. They serve mainly to illuminate the brief intervals when religious intolerance was not the fixed rule. But at the same time they controvert the idea that colonial traditions were exclusively Protestant and they fill the gap

between the coming of the intrepid Catholic explorers, at the head of whom was Columbus, and those Catholics who were identified with the movement for independence and the setting up of the new democracy in the Western World. Maryland was an exception to the general rule. From the beginning it was Catholic, but even that colony fell under the same blight which cut short the political career of Governor Dongan and by the favor of the English throne and the Cromwellian régime the Government became as anti-Catholic there as elsewhere. The administration of Governor Calvert was a mere prelude to the greater part taken by Catholics in public affairs when the spirit of independence among the colonists began to assert itself.

Religious prejudice was inextricably interwoven with the political beliefs which were implanted in the soil of America. Religion supplied the main motive for the coming of many of the colonists. The intolerance which prevailed during the Colonial period is reflected not only in royal decrees but in numerous provincial statutes directed against the "professors of the religion of the Church of Rome." Happily this has been slowly dissipated. If, as a practical matter, it is still true that a Catholic cannot be elected President of the United States because of his religion, there is no constitutional inhibition to prevent him from trying. The presence of a half-dozen Catholics in the Senate and a score or more in the House of Representatives indicates that the traditional hostility toward Catholics has in large measure abated despite the periodical attempts to revive the bigotry which once imposed upon them all of the obligations of citizenship and excluded them from participation in the affairs of government.

The number of Catholics now in public office is much less proportionately than the number of Catholic voters, but this cannot be justly taken as a measure of existing prejudice. With the election or appointment of Catholics now taking an active part in government, religion by virtue

of any legal or constitutional authority has had nothing to do. Conversely it cannot be regarded as an adequate reason for the fact that more Catholics do not enter upon public careers. It is at least certain that the religious prejudice which once was formulated in legislative enactments now rarely dares to flaunt itself openly, and more often than not defeats its own purposes. There have been times when they were assailed in Congress because of their faith. At present the members of the Senate and House of Representatives do not feel that it is necessary to make any reference in their official biographies to the religion they profess, whether they are Catholics or Baptists or Unitarians. There are exceptions, striking because of their rarity, such as that of a recent representative named Murphy, who puts himself down as a Methodist. They only prove the rule.

In the main, however, the record of the Catholic in politics is a narrative of the gradual transition from the violent anti-Catholic prejudice, which the colonies inherited, to the condition which prevails to-day. Even the more recent organized movements to bar citizens professing the Catholic Faith out of governmental affairs are as a rule mere attempts to fan to a flame the smoldering embers of similar movements which have almost entirely disappeared. These latter-day anti-denominational crusades lack even the air of originality. They have for their object a state of affairs of which the people of the United States have long since disposed in the light of their better judgment, and they emphasize the progress toward tolerance already achieved.

William Smith, the colonial historian, writes that, under the administration of Governor Dongan, "Papists began to settle in the colony under the smiles of the Governor (Dongan). The collector of the revenues, and several principal officers threw off the mask, and openly avowed their attachment to the doctrines of Rome. A Latin school

was set up, and the teacher strongly suspected for a Jesuit." This was written before the idea of an American Republic was conceived. But, strangely enough, it was not Popery alone that agitated the people of the colony of New York. The same author under the title of "An Anti-Semitic Excitement" describes the contest that arose over the election of Adolph Philipse as Speaker. The question was raised whether the Jews, some of whom voted for him, were qualified as electors. The counsel for Philipse, the author informs us, "urged the authority of the election law giving a vote to all freeholders of competent estates without excepting the descendants of Abraham according to the flesh, and with astonishment heard a reply which captivated the audience into an opinion that the exception must be implied for the honor of Christianity and the preservation of the Constitution." The tide of eloquence set in against the Jews and became so impassioned that the auditors wept. "The unfortunate Israelites," the author says, "were content to lose their votes could they escape with their lives."

Nor was it only the Catholics and Jews who suffered by this spirit of intolerance. As, in the present day, the Unitarians have been made the targets for the hostility of their less liberal Protestant brethren, interdenominational animosities flourished during the Colonial period. "Religious bigotry had broken in upon the peace of various sects," says David Ramsay, "before the American war." The Scotch dissenter had very little love for the Anglican who proposed the establishment of Anglican bishoprics in America. Liberality in many portions of the country was looked upon as the gift of Satan.

It is very often forgotten that the most notorious anti-Catholic leader of his day was Benedict Arnold, who is recorded as having said that there were "too many Catholics in the Revolutionary Army," and tried to sow the

seeds of disaffection among the Revolutionary soldiers by an appeal to their religious prejudice, in which he said:

> Do you know that the eye which guides this pen lately saw your mean and profligate Congress at mass for the soul of a Roman Catholic in purgatory and participating in the rites of a church against whose anti-Christian corruption your pious ancestors would bear witness with their blood?

Fortunately for the Republic the wisdom of cooler heads than Arnold's, notably Washington's, prevailed then as it has since.

It is quite obvious that most of the colonists who came to America to escape religious persecution were no less intolerant than their oppressors. Whatever else their motive might have been for making the perilous journey across the Atlantic to reëstablish themselves on the fringe of the Western wilderness, they meant to follow the ways denied them at home and to make everybody else conform to them. Their ideas of religious freedom and political equality were quite different from those embodied in the Constitution. Catholics in most of the colonies were allowed no voice in public affairs. The Jews were not of their fold and therefore enemies of the Christian faith.

Naturally, politics was shot through with the same religious antagonisms that prevailed in England. Shutting their eyes to the achievements of the explorers who had preceded them and who had penetrated far into the wilderness, the colonists looked upon the Catholics as alien invaders and were as relentless in their suppression of Popery as their countrymen at home. At one time a Catholic could not hold office in any of the thirteen colonies. They were debarred in Connecticut, Massachusetts, Georgia, the Carolinas, New Jersey and New Hampshire, although they were taxed for the support of the established Protestant ministers. Only in Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware and Rhode Island were they at one time or another accorded political equality.

Maryland, which happened to be Catholic, was the one exception to the rule which prevailed. By the grace of the special favor he enjoyed at the hands of his sovereign, Lord Baltimore, although a Catholic, was given the grant which formed the foundation of the Maryland settlement. Under Catholic control there was no political discrimination upon religious grounds, but when the Protestants came into power, on the heels of changes in the British Government, and assumed to direct affairs, it was promptly announced that "none who profess to exercise the Popish religion, commonly known by the name of the Roman Catholic religion, can be protected in this Province by the laws of England." For a time the Catholics found themselves completely shut out of any voice in public matters, though they met with less intolerance in Pennsylvania and Rhode Island.

These disabilities against Catholics were slow in disappearing. They were not admitted to office in Georgia until 1789, South Carolina 1790, Connecticut 1818. As late as 1876 New Hampshire did not permit them to become members of the Legislature and they were not accorded equal political rights in Massachusetts until 1821. Even in Maryland the political disabilities were not removed until 1774. This last date is of importance because it marked the removal of the impeding restrictions and enabled the first distinguished Catholic not only to take an active part in the stirring events which preceded the establishment of the Republic but to render the most conspicuous service to his country.

The struggle for independence brought about extraordinary changes not only in the external but in the internal political relationships of the colonies. Differences and jealousies, by no means unusual, were largely forgotten. Common interests and common hardships evoked a spirit of tolerance as the people began to look upon broader horizons. A narrow and distorted religious enthusiasm which regarded Popery as a baleful menace to freedom and fed upon itself

until, at its worst, it saw diabolical machinations in the actions of harmless old women and little children whom it accused of witchcraft, gave way to more sober considerations of national policy. People began to look upon their Catholic fellow-citizens, who espoused the cause of independence with striking whole-heartedness, in a somewhat different light. The principle of religious tolerance reflected in the Constitution was enunciated even more impressively by the first President of the United States, who, in response to an address from a number of Catholic citizens felicitating him upon his election, said:

> As mankind become more liberal they will be more apt to allow that all those who conduct themselves as worthy members of the community are equally entitled to the protection of government. . . . I presume that your fellow-citizens will not forget the patriotic part which you took in the accomplishment of their revolution and the establishment of their government or the important assistance which they received from a nation (France) in which the Roman Catholic religion is professed.

Charles Carroll, a Catholic, who bore a commission as Attorney-General of Maryland, came to America in 1688. He was the head of the distinguished family which included not only the first American Catholic prelate but the first Catholic statesman, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, a signer of the Declaration of Independence and the friend of Washington.

Charles Carroll was given the advantage of an education and experience which only the aristocratic families of the colonies were able to afford their sons. He received his training in Flanders and spent some time in England, where he met Edmund Burke and other statesmen of that period. He returned to America in 1765, but, in spite of his manifest abilities, was prevented from taking any part in the affairs of government by the restrictions against Catholics. When, in 1774, these were removed, Carroll at once devoted himself unreservedly to the cause of inde-

pendence, and as a member of the Continental Congress was appointed to the important Board of War, which consisted of seven members, among whom were John Adams and Benjamin Harrison.

Adams, afterward President of the United States, described Charles Carroll at this time as "a gentleman of independent fortune, perhaps the largest in America, a hundred and fifty or two hundred thousand pounds sterling, educated in some university in France, though a native American, of great abilities and learning, and a professor of the Roman Catholic religion; yet a warm and firm, zealous supporter of the rights of America, in whose cause he has hazarded his all." Obviously the fact that Carroll was a Catholic and at the same time a patriot was sufficiently interesting, from the point of view of John Adams, to merit special mention. This frank tribute is at the same time an admission of the unexpected. The fact that it is no longer regarded as necessary to mention the faith of those who render political service reflects in some degree the change that has occurred in this respect in the first century and a half of American political history.

When the question arose of sending a commission to Canada to induce the colonists there to join the Revolutionary cause, not only Charles Carroll, but his cousin, Father John Carroll, a Catholic priest, were designated members. The striking aspect of this undertaking is not that it failed to achieve the purpose for which it was designed, but failed largely through the bigoted outpourings of John Jay and others, who, in spite of the warnings of Washington, aroused misgivings among the Canadians themselves. Had it not been for their hostility towards Catholics it is quite possible that a large part, if not all, of the Dominion would have been under the flag of the United States.

That is not the only service Carroll rendered his country. He was able, because of his knowledge of France, to

be of the greatest assistance to Benjamin Franklin when he set out to enlist French sympathies and aid for the Revolution. He became, also, the close friend of Washington and one of his most ardent defenders against the enemies whose efforts to oust him from the place of leadership he then occupied are portrayed in the story of the Conway Cabal. Not only in the Continental Congress but in the first Congress of the United States does the Carroll name appear upon the roll of members, and there is no doubt that they set a precedent which went far toward disabusing the minds of their Protestant countrymen of the idea that to be a Catholic was to be an enemy of democracy.

That Catholic Maryland should have produced the first distinguished Catholic statesman was not extraordinary in view of the fact that the colony was founded and developed by people of that faith. But it was not there alone that Catholics had settled in large numbers. Long before the Revolution the tide of emigration from Ireland had set in and the Irish had become a substantial element in many communities in Pennsylvania, New York, Virginia, the Carolinas and even in Georgia. The idea that it was the English or native Americans of English descent alone who brought about the political transformation of America from a group of isolated colonies into a united state, is one of those curious illusions of history that persist in spite of the documentary evidence and the testimony of many contemporaneous observers to the contrary. Bancroft, Trevelyan and other historians have fallen into the error of assuming that the part taken by the Irish, a very large proportion of whom were Catholics, in the Revolution was negligible without having taken the trouble to scrutinize the facts.

The oppression to which the Irish were subjected by the English had resulted in the beginning of the migration to America when the colonies were isolated settlements on

the fringe of the wilderness and has continued virtually down to the present time. We find Governor Dongan, himself an Irishman, arousing the apprehension of his intolerant fellow colonists by encouraging Irishmen impoverished under British rule to take up lands in New York. They came to Pennsylvania in such numbers that a memorial was addressed to the "Representatives of the Freeman of the Province," who observed in reply: "We do likewise perceive it to be of the greatest consequence to the preservation both of the civil and religious rights of the people of this Province to prevent the importation of Irish Papists and convicts." The convicts, in this case, were political refugees, seasoned veterans in the struggle for political liberty on the other side of the water. The sailing ships which took to Old World markets the products of the colonies found a profitable traffic in the carrying of Irish emigrants to America on the return voyage. Some of these had been impoverished and had to be indentured to earn their passage, but many were tradesmen whose business had been destroyed, and converted their remaining possessions into cash to start out anew in the growing country across the Atlantic.

Philadelphia was the port at which most of these sailing vessels arrived, which accounts for the alarm of the Representatives of the Freeman of the Province of Pennsylvania, but others also landed at Boston, New York, and Charleston. It has been estimated that close to 100,000 came in the years 1771, 1772 and 1773. Many of them had established substantial fortunes or had become prosperous farmers by the time the Revolutionary War began. Apparently, too, some contrived to evade the political restrictions imposed upon them, for the Reverend Colin Campbell calls attention to the fact that "there were many Irish Papists in Pennsylvania who turn Quakers and get into places, as well as Germans."

There is no way of telling what proportion of these

Irish immigrants were Catholics, although it is quite obvious that, contrary to the widespread impression that they were Protestants from the North of Ireland, many were Catholics. Some of them intermarried with the Dutch and English after their arrival and abandoned the religion of their fathers, but many others adhered to it in spite of the hardships and political and civil disadvantages it involved. The celebration of Saint Patrick's Day by the troops of the Revolutionary Army in 1778 and the organization of the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick in Philadelphia, of which General Washington was an honorary member, show rather conclusively that the Irish in America at that time were not all of the Scotch or Presbyterian variety. The names of Irishmen who took part in political affairs during the Revolutionary period and immediately afterward are legion, but they are an uncertain guide from a religious viewpoint. A George Bryan was Governor of Pennsylvania; Matthew Lyon was known as the "Hampden of Congress." Thaddeus McCarty, of Worcester, James Duane, of New York, William O'Bryan, of Georgia, and Cornelius Harnett, of North Carolina, show how widely scattered the Irish were. It is safe to assume that a considerable proportion of them were Catholic.

In such of the Revolutionary muster rolls as we have there are recorded 695 Kellys, 494 Murphys, 331 McCarthys and other Irish names in proportion, and the Patricks joined to these surnames were numerous. We have the testimony of Galliway and General Robertson that half the Revolutionary Army was Irish, which is probably an exaggeration. O'Brien fixes the proportion at approximately one-third, but in some of the Pennsylvania regiments it ran as high as seventy per cent.

When the fortunes of the Revolutionists were at their lowest and Washington's ragged army was encamped at Valley Forge, Irish Catholics of Philadelphia subscribed generously to the funds to tide it over its dark hour.

Washington, whose aide and secretary was a Catholic, Colonel John Fitzgerald, was mindful of all this, as were probably many of his associates, even though it has since been overlooked by more than one historian who assumes to speak with authority on Colonial and Revolutionary history. And as the Irish who had cast their lot with America were zealous for the cause of the Revolution, the Irish at home were in their way as enthusiastic. Franklin himself gives testimony of the friendly spirit displayed toward the American rebels, and Horace Walpole says "the Government could not get above four hundred recruits in their attempt to raise a regiment of Roman Catholics." Nothing could be further from the truth than the assumption that the struggle for political independence was carried on exclusively by colonists of English birth or descent.

There is not much doubt that the part played by Catholics in the political affairs of the period had much to do with allaying the religious prejudices which entered so largely into the politics of the Colonial period. The attainment of independence had the effect of opening the eyes of the Americans, no longer subjects of the King of England, but citizens of a country which was now master of its own destinies, to the necessity of a more tolerant attitude toward a faith professed not only by a very considerable portion of those who brought about such a condition, but of the countries to which they had looked for aid. Not only was France a Catholic country, but it was due very largely to the Catholic clergy of that nation that the money was raised to enable the Revolutionists in America to carry on their fight. In the face of this array of facts the charge that Popery was hostile to the democratic ideal, and the suspicion that the political future of America was endangered by the influx of Catholics, appear equally groundless.

We find, therefore, citizens of Catholic faith taking an increasingly important part in public affairs. After the Carrolls came Roger Brooke Taney, who was born in Mary-

land, and elected to the General Assembly of that State in 1799. His political record is one of unusual achievement. President Jackson appointed him Attorney-General, the first member of the Cabinet who was a Catholic. Singularly enough the question of the moment was one which has reappeared at a later day. Jackson insisted that funds should be available to the farmers of the West, and proposed the transfer of them from the Federal Government bank to branches in the agricultural communities. This position was supported by Taney, but opposed by the Senate. To further his plan the President appointed Taney Secretary of the Treasury, but before he was confirmed by the Senate he was appointed Chief Justice of the United States, succeeding John Marshall and sustaining with extraordinary vigor the lofty traditions of that great tribunal, laying down the legal principles which have had so momentous an effect upon the political development of the country. Taney had Catholic successors in the Cabinet, notably Charles J. Bonaparte, and on the Supreme Bench was another distinguished Catholic, the late Chief Justice Edward Douglass White, who was appointed to that position from the Senate, (but Taney is the only Catholic who had the distinction of occupying both places.)

With the development of the country the religious distinctions maintained, it is to be observed, not by the Catholics but by those who opposed them during the Revolutionary period, disappeared gradually and there is nothing to differentiate the Catholics from citizens who professed other faiths. At no time has any important political issue arisen which has involved religious distinctions. There is no Catholic party and, it can be safely predicted, there never will be. At the present time senators and representatives of the Catholic faith are to be found in the ranks of both parties, nor is their presence in either made the occasion for any comment, and they are quite as commonly arrayed against one another on political questions

as the adherents of any other denomination. Time has proved the soundness of the judgment of the framers of the Constitution in divorcing Church and State, and demonstrated the wisdom of keeping religion out of politics, a principle to which Catholics have consistently adhered. Their position has been that of the late Archbishop Ireland, who said: "I repeat my profession of faith: my religious faith, Catholicism; my civil and political faith, Americanism."

The Revolution and the adoption of the Constitution together with the First Amendment, which was taken from the Bill of Rights, marked a very wholesome and complete transformation from the conditions which prevailed in the colonies with reference to religious toleration. Thereafter the Catholics stood on the same political footing as those of other faiths and their political identity, kept distinct during the earlier period of American history by statutory discrimination, is merged into that of the common body politic.

There were, as has been pointed out, Catholics in the Continental Congress and in the first Congress of the United States, the Calverts of Maryland and FitzSimons of Pennsylvania. The number has increased with the growth of the Catholic population. The Irish Revolutionary stock, which, if it did not remain entirely Catholic, was partly so, made a permanent impression upon the political growth of the country and we find Connells and Moores, Murphys and Boyles sent to Congress from all parts of the growing country. From Florida came the Mallorys, father and son, both members of the Senate and the latter a recognized leader in that body. Louisiana, which is Catholic in tradition and still preserves the parish system in its political subdivision, sent White to the Senate and a number of others, including Senator Joseph E. Ransdell. California, where also a Catholic tradition flourishes in the crumbling missions marking the paths followed by the old *conquista-*

*dores* and the followers of Junipero Serra, has elected several Catholic senators. Even Massachusetts, where Popery was long held in general suspicion and distrust, sends to Congress a delegation in which Catholics are represented, among them a United States senator. Senators Francis Kernan and James A. O'Gorman, of New York; Senator Thomas Carter, of Montana, who was chairman of the committee in charge of the campaign of President McKinley, and many others have left notable records of achievement in public service. In the House of Representatives we had William Gaston and Edward Kavanagh and now William Bourke Cochran who upholds the traditional aptitude of his race for oratory, in which respect he is a successor of Daniel Dougherty of Philadelphia, who nominated Hancock and Cleveland.

Time has shown that the Catholic Germans, Poles and Italians who came to the United States and their descendants have readily absorbed American political ideals as their interests have become identified with those of the country, and have taken an active part in municipal, state and national politics. Instead of impeding this readjustment the Catholic Church has been one of the main agencies for the evolution of American citizenship among people of alien countries who have sought a haven in the United States. The example set by Carroll, who was ready to sacrifice all that he had for his country, has been followed by succeeding generations, and the record of Catholics in political life from the Revolution down to our own day has shown a zealous regard for the political principles to which the Republic owes its prosperity and its greatness.

# CATHOLIC CIVIC IDEALS

JOHN A. LAPP, PH.D.

IN this discussion of Catholic civic ideals it is deemed best to draw freely upon authoritative statements which express the permanent ideals of the Catholic Church in American democracy. Such treatment lifts the subject to a higher plane and frees it from the limitations of mere personal interpretation. Fortunately, for this method there is a wealth of authority, beginning with the birth of the nation, extending throughout our history, and culminating in that masterpiece of expression of moral, religious, and civic ideals, the "Pastoral Letter," issued in 1919 by the authority of the Hierarchy of the United States.

Catholics have taken an influential part in the nation's affairs in every great national crisis. The American Revolution, the Declaration of Independence, the framing of the Constitution, all had the influence and assistance of strong Catholic characters. The Civil War brought out a galaxy of leaders who were devoted members of the Catholic Church; public office has been adorned from the beginning with able Catholic representatives. These facts are cited not in praise, for it was only a patriotic duty due from all citizens, but rather as a background to throw into proper relief the long ancestry of Catholic participation in American civic life. When we think of Catholic civic ideals of to-day we should naturally associate their ideals with their early origins and their historic development.

*Catholic Patriotism.*—It is, perhaps, incorrect to speak of Catholic patriotism; it is really American patriotism deepened and fostered by Catholic ideals. Of its distant past we need not speak here, being content rather

with the present-day summation. The Fathers of the Church assembled in the Council of Baltimore in 1884 said:

> We consider the establishment of our country's independence, the shaping of its liberties and laws, as a work of special Providence, its framers "building better than they knew," the Almighty's hand guiding them . . . We believe that our country's heroes were the instruments of the God of nations in establishing this home of freedom; to both the Almighty and to His instruments in the work we look with grateful reverence; and to maintain the inheritance of freedom which they have left us, should it ever, which God forbid, be imperilled, our Catholic citizens will be found to stand forward as one man, ready to pledge anew "their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor."

Again, in the crisis of the great war, the assembled leaders of the Hierarchy, speaking through Cardinal Gibbons, said: "Our people now, as ever, will rise as one man to serve the nation; our priests and the consecrated women will once again, as in every former trial of our country, win by their bravery, their heroism, and their service, new admiration and approval." And when the war had closed, the Hierarchy, in the Pastoral Letter, speaking of the men who served their country, said:

> To them, and especially to those who died that America might live, we are forever indebted; their triumph over self is the real victory, their loyalty, the real honor of our nation, their fidelity to duty, the bulwark of our freedom. To such men and their memory eulogy is at best a poor tribute. We shall not render them their due nor show ourselves worthy to name them as our own unless we inherit their spirit and make it the soul of our national life. The very monuments we raise in their honor will become a reproach to us if we fail in those things of which they have left us such splendid examples.

*Stability of the Social Order.*—The Church is now and always has been on the side of law and order; it has preached obedience to the law from the beginning. The Pastoral Letter points out that "the Sovereign Pontiffs have promoted the welfare of all mankind by insisting upon the principles which should govern our social, industrial and political relations; by deepening respect for civil

authority; by enjoining upon Catholics everywhere the duty of allegiance to the State and the discharge of patriotic obligation." In the words of Pope Benedict the Church in America has consistently stood "on the principles of reasonable liberty and of Christian civilization." "The combination of order and reasonable freedom," says the Pastoral Letter, "which is the principal element in the organization of the Church, is also indispensable in our social relations; without it there can be neither order, nor law, nor genuine freedom."

We are admonished by the Church leaders that remedies for many evils can be found in a clearer understanding of civil authority.

> Rulers and people alike must be guided by the truth that the State is not merely an invention of human forethought, that its power is not created by human agreement or even by nature's device. Destined as we are by our Maker to live together in social intercourse and mutual coöperation for the fulfilment of our duties, the proper development of our faculties and the adequate satisfaction of our wants, our association can be orderly and prosperous only when the wills of the many are directed by that moral power which we call authority. This is the unifying and coördinating principle of the social structure. It has its origin in God alone.

*The State and the Citizen.*—It has been repeatedly stated that the civil power is not omnipotent; that it cannot, in justice, do anything it pleases, for the reason that man existed before the State, and that government was organized to further the ends which the Creator designed for him. The State is bound to respect the divine rights of the individual and the family; its purpose is to "safeguard the liberty of all, so that none shall encroach upon the rights of others." It has no right to "hinder the citizen in the discharge of his conscientious obligation, and much less in the performance of duties which he owes to God." Pope Leo, in his famous "Encyclical on the Condition of the Working Classes," declared that "the State must not absorb the individual or the family; both should be allowed

free and untrammeled action as far as is consistent with the common good and the interests of others." But he did not imply that the State should adopt a policy of non-interference, or of *laissez-faire*. "Whenever the general interest of any particular class suffers," he said, "or is threatened with evils which can in no other way be met, the public authority must step in to meet them."

After citing various social evils in industry, such as excessive labor, dangers to health, immoral conditions, interference with religion, or "burdens upon the workmen which were unjust, or degraded them with conditions that were repugnant to their dignity as human beings," . . . Pope Leo stated that: "in these cases there can be no question that within certain limits it would be right to call in the help and authority of the law."

> The State, says the Pastoral Letter, has a sacred claim upon our respect and loyalty. It may justly impose obligations and demand sacrifices, for the sake of the common welfare which it is established to promote. It is the means to an end, not an end in itself; and because it receives its power from God, it cannot rightfully exert that power through any act or measure that would be at variance with the divine law, or with the divine economy for man's salvation. As long as the State remains within its proper limits and really furthers the common good, it has a right to our obedience. And this obedience we are bound to render, not merely on grounds of expediency, but as a conscientious duty.
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> The State is bound to respect and protect the rights of the citizen and especially of the parent. So long as these rights are properly exercised, to encroach upon them is not to further the general welfare, but to put it in peril.

*Civic Duty.*—The Church naturally stresses the duties which devolve upon men. The duty of taking part in civic life is one that grows out of the very nature of the State itself. The State, being the direct expression of divine authority, requires not only the obedience of citizens, but their active interest. In a democracy where the people select the governing officials and even vote directly on measures, the duty of participation by citizens is enhanced. The Pastoral Letter enjoins that:

> Each citizen should devote a reasonable amount of time and energy to the maintenance of right government by the exercise of his political rights and privileges. He should understand the issues that are brought before the people and coöperate with his fellow citizens in securing by all legitimate means the wisest possible solution; and further: With their practical sense and their love of fairness, the American people understand that our national life cannot develop normally without adequate protection for the rights of all and faithful performance of duty by every citizen. And as they united to secure freedom for other nations, they now will strive together to realize their country's ideals.

The office holder is held in it to strict accountability:

> In a special degree the sense and performance of duty is required of those who are entrusted with public office. They are at once the servants of the people and the bearers of an authority whose original source is none other than God. Integrity on their part, shown by their impartial treatment of all persons and questions, by their righteous administration of public funds and by their strict observance of law, is a vital element in the life of the nation. It is the first and most effectual remedy for the countless ills which invade the body politic and, slowly festering, end in sudden collapse. But to apply the remedy with hope of success, those who are charged with the care of public affairs, should think less of the honor conferred upon them than of the great responsibility. For the public official above all others, there is need to remember the day of accounting, here, perhaps, at the bar of human opinion, but surely hereafter at the judgment seat of Him whose sentence is absolute.

*Civic Morality.*—Upon the subject of civic morality one would naturally find the Church arrayed against all forms of civic corruption. The Church has analyzed the evils which beset a democracy and has spoken clearly on the subject. In its primary meaning the Pastoral Letter declares

> politics has for its aim the administration of government in accordance with the express will of the people and for their best interests. This can be accomplished by the adoption of right principles, the choice of worthy candidates for office, the direction of partisan effort towards the nation's true welfare and the purity of election; but not by dishonesty. The idea that politics is exempt from the requirements of morality, is both false and pernicious; it is practically equivalent to the notion that in government there is neither right nor wrong, and that the will of the people is simply an instrument to be used for private advantage.

Public dishonesty is given a stinging rebuke in the following declaration:

> The same spirit of justice that condemns dishonesty in private dealings, must condemn even more emphatically any and every attempt on the part of individuals to further their interests at the expense of the public welfare. The upright citizen refuses as a matter of conscience to defraud his neighbor, to violate his pledges or to take unfair advantage. Likewise, in his business relations with the community as a whole, whatever the character of his service, he is careful to observe the prescriptions of justice. He feels that if it is wrong to overreach or circumvent his brother in any matter, the wrong is not less but far more grievous when inflicted on the commonwealth.

*International Justice.*—The Church, being world-wide in its membership and activities, sees international relations in their true aspects. From the commanding heights of world-wide knowledge and experience the Church may speak with true vision. Even though the selfishness of men and of nations may not permit them to hearken to the voice, yet it is clear and unmistakable. More than that, the same voice which has been speaking for centuries is slowly but surely molding the minds of men to better international feeling. Upon no subject does the Pastoral Letter of the American Hierarchy speak more forcefully than upon this. It declares:

> Since God is the Ruler of nations no less than of individuals, His law is supreme over the external relations of States as well as in the internal affairs of each. The sovereignty that makes a nation independent of other nations, does not exempt it from its obligations toward God; nor can any covenant, however shrewdly arranged, guarantee peace and security, if it disregard the divine commands. These require that in their dealings with one another, nations shall observe both justice and charity. By the former, each nation is bound to respect the existence, integrity and rights of all other nations; by the latter, it is obliged to assist other nations with those acts of beneficence and good will which can be performed without undue inconvenience to itself. From these obligations a nation is not dispensed by reason of its superior civilization, its industrial activity or its commercial enterprise; least of all, by its military power. On the contrary, a State which possesses these advantages, is

> under a greater responsibility to exert its influence for the maintenance of justice and the diffusion of good will among all peoples. So far as it fulfils its obligation in this respect, a State contributes its share to the peace of the world; it disarms jealousy, removes all ground for suspicion and replaces intrigue with frank coöperation for the general welfare.

Faith in the democratic handling of international relations never received a greater expression of confidence than in the Pastoral Letter:

> The growth of democracy, the letter said, implies that the people shall have a larger share in determining the form, attributions and policies of the Government to which they look for the preservation of order. It should also imply that the calm, deliberate judgment of the people, rather than the aims of the ambitious few, shall decide whether, in case of international disagreement, war be the only solution. Knowing that the burdens of war will fall most heavily on them, the people will be slower in taking aggressive measures, and, with an adequate sense of what charity and justice require, they will refuse to be led or driven into conflict by false report or specious argument. Reluctance of this sort is entirely consistent with firmness for right and zeal for national honor. If it were developed in every people, it would prove a more effectual restraint than any craft of diplomacy or economic prudence. The wisest economy, in fact, would be exercised by making the principles of charity and justice an essential part of education. Instead of planning destruction, intelligence would then discover new methods of binding the nations together; and the good will which is now doing so much to relieve the distress produced by war, would be so strengthened and directed as to prevent the recurrence of international strife.

*Religion and the State.*—Believing that religion is the bulwark of the State, the Catholic Church has sought at all times to make clear the importance of religious influence in public affairs. It has continually pointed out lurking dangers to the social order in schemes which would undermine individual and family rights, and the Church itself.

> There may be philosophies and ideals and schemes of reform, say the Hierarchy; the wise may deliberate and the powerful exert their might; but when the souls of men have to be reached and transformed to a better sense, that justice may reign and charity abound, then more than ever is it true that without Christ our efforts are vain. The State itself

should be the first to appreciate the importance of religion for the preservation of the common weal. It can ill afford at any time, and least of all in the present condition of the world, to reject the assistance which Christianity offers for the maintenance of peace and order.

They voice the powerful and persuasive statement of Pope Benedict XV:

Let princes and rulers of the people bear this in mind and bethink themselves whether it be wise and salutary, either for public authority or for the nations themselves, to set aside the holy religion of Jesus Christ, in which that very authority may find such powerful support and defense. Let them seriously consider whether it be the part of political wisdom to exclude from the ordinance of the State and from public instruction, the teaching of the Gospel and of the Church. Only too well does experience show that when religion is banished, human authority totters to its fall.

In fervent praise of America's struggles for liberty the Archbishops and Bishops of the United States declare that

these facts naturally inspire us with an honest pride in our country, with loyalty to our free institutions and confidence in our future. They should also inspire us with gratitude to the Giver of all good gifts, Who has dealt so favorably with our nation: "He hath not done in like manner to every nation." (Ps. CXLVII). Our forefathers realized this, and accordingly there is evident in the foundation of the Republic and its first institutions, a deep religious spirit. It pervades the home, establishes seats of learning, guides the deliberation of law-making bodies. Its beneficent results are our inheritance; but to enjoy this and transmit it in its fulness to posterity, we must preserve in the hearts of the people the spirit of reverence for God and His law, which animated the founders of our nation. Without that spirit, there is no true patriotism; for whoever sincerely loves his country, must love it for the things that make it worthy of the blessings it has received and of those for which it may hope through God's dispensation.

While recognizing the interdependence of religion and the State, and the advantage of each to the other, the Catholic people of America are not in favor of the union of Church and State in this country. Each has its own sphere. "The Almighty," said Pope Leo, "has appointed the charge

of the human race between two powers, the ecclesiastical and the civil; the one being set over divine, the other over human things. Each in its kind is supreme, each has fixed limits within which it is contained, limits which are defined by the nature and special objects of the province of each."

"American Catholics rejoice," said Cardinal Gibbons, "in our separation of Church and State; and I can conceive no combination of circumstances likely to arise which should make a union desirable either to Church or State. We know the blessings of our present arrangement; it gives us liberty and binds together priests and people in a union better than that of Church and State. Other countries, other manners; we do not believe our system adapted to all conditions; we leave it to Church and State in other lands to solve their problems for their own best interests. For ourselves, we thank God we live in America, 'in this happy country of ours,' to quote Mr. Roosevelt, where 'religion and liberty are natural allies'."

*Education for Citizenship.*—The Catholic Church conducts a system of parochial schools which number in their membership more than 2,000,000 students. These schools are supported because Catholics believe that religion is an essential part in all education. They are not maintained for the purpose of holding "Catholic children apart from the general body and spirit of American citizenship." They maintain teachers who consecrate their lives to education, and the system "prepares, without expense to the State, a considerable number of Americans to live worthily as citizens of the Republic." The Church has in mind in its school system the preparation of citizens, and recognizes the necessity in a democracy for compulsory education of the citizens when persuasion fails.

"Since the child is a member not only of the family, but also of the larger social group," says the Pastoral Letter, "his education must prepare him to fulfil his obligation

to society. The community has the right to insist that those who as members share in its benefits shall possess the necessary qualifications. The school, therefore, whether private or public as regards maintenance and control, is an agency for social welfare, and as such it bears responsibility to the whole civic body."

The Council of Baltimore was deeply solicitous for the education of citizens.

> If, said their Pastoral Letter, in the olden days of vassalage and serfdom, the Church honored every individual, no matter how humble his position, and labored to give him the enlightment that would qualify him for higher responsibilities, much more now, in the era of popular rights and liberties, when every individual is an active and influential factor in the body politic, does she desire that all should be fitted by suitable training for an intelligent and conscientious discharge of the important duties that may devolve upon them.

It is perfectly clear to all people that an enlightened public opinion is necessary for the conduct of a democratic government. Judgment based upon knowledge of facts is an essential requisite for the people who must decide important matters at the polls. Because of this need it is declared by the Pastoral Letter that

> the State has a right to insist that its citizens shall be educated. It should encourage among the people such a love of learning that they will take the initiative and, without constraint, provide for the education of their children. Should they through negligence or lack of means fail to do so, the State has the right to establish schools and take every other legitimate means to safeguard its vital interests against the dangers that result from ignorance. In particular, it has both the right and the duty to exclude the teaching of doctrines which aim at the subversion of law and order and therefore at the destruction of the State itself.

One firm ground upon which Catholics take a stand in the training for citizens is for the teaching of religion.

> An education that unites intellectual, moral and religious elements is the best training for citizenship. It inculcates a sense of responsibility, a respect for authority and a consideration for the rights of others, which are the necessary foundations of civic virtue, more necessary where, as in a

democracy, the citizen, enjoying a larger freedom, has a greater obligation to govern himself.

While the social aspect of education is evidently important, it must be remembered that social righteousness depends upon individual morality. There are virtues, such as justice and charity, which are exercised in our relations with others; but there is no such thing as collective virtue which can be practiced by a community whose individual members do not possess it in any manner or degree. For this very reason the attempt to develop the qualities of citizenship without regard for personal virtue, or to make civic utility the one standard of moral excellence, is doomed to failure. Integrity of life in each citizen is the only sure guarantee of worthy citizenship.

Once more, **continues the Pastoral Letter,** we must emphasize the need of laying a sure foundation in the individual mind and conscience. Upon the integrity of each, upon his personal observance of justice and charity, depends the efficacy of legislation and of all endeavor for the common good. Our aim, therefore, should be, not to multiply laws and restrictions, but to develop such a spirit as will enable us to live in harmony under the simplest possible form, and only the necessary amount of external regulation. Democracy, understood as self-government, implies that the people as a whole shall rule themselves. But if they are to rule wisely, each must begin by governing himself, by performing his duty no less than by maintaining his right.

# THE CATHOLIC CONTRIBUTION IN THE COLONIAL PERIOD

FRANCIS J. TSCHAN, PH.D.

ALTHOUGH Scandinavian sailors had crossed the northern reaches of the Atlantic to Iceland, Greenland and, finally, to Vinland, somewhere on the North American coast, five centuries before Columbus sailed, the history of our western world properly begins with the discovery which he made in 1492. Europe in the early part of the eleventh century had attained neither the intellectual growth, nor the political centralization, nor the economic organization which are the prerequisites of a commerce that eagerly seeks advantage even in rumors and surmises. The North European trade sphere, centered in the Baltic and the North Seas, of which the Vinland enterprise was an extension, was, moreover, still too remotely connected with the southern, or Mediterranean trade sphere, through which was to be transmitted the shock of occurrences, taking place east of its Levantine ports, that led to the epochal event of 1492. Vinland, then, naturally passed with Greenland into the shades of the Northland sagas.

These northern activities, however, have a peculiar interest for Catholics. Leif Ericsson, who in the year 1000 came upon Vinland, had been converted while on a visit to Norway. On returning to Greenland, he took with him priests to labor among the settlers and natives. His effort bore fruit a hundredfold, for a little more than a century later, in 1112, Pope Paschal II appointed one, Eric Gnupsson, Bishop of Greenland and Vinland. He probably perished in an attempt which he made in 1121 to visit Vinland. A line of bishops, who were regularly appointed

by Rome, followed in the Greenland bishopric until at least 1409, not long after which date the Greenland plantation probably succumbed to the attacks of the natives. The first mention, furthermore, of these far northern viking activities, the first, indeed, of America in any geographical or historical account, was made by Adam, a canon of the Cathedral of Bremen under Archbishop Adelbert, on the basis of conversations he had had with Svend Estridson, King of Denmark (1047-1076)[1]

Although nothing came of the Viking discoveries, the Americas were to be rediscovered well within the Catholic period of European development; their main outlines were to be traced and their continental and non-Asiatic character to be revealed by men from lands in which the "new preaching" was not heeded. A full quarter century before Luther nailed his ninety-five theses on indulgences to the court-church door at Wittenberg, Columbus sailed from Palos, Spain, to discover a new route to the Indies whence came the spices, drugs and oriental finery which Europeans of the upper classes of society could no longer do without, but which Asiatic disturbances and the Turkish incursion had made more difficult to procure.[2]

Europe thus got an economic motive for seeking a new route to the east. But Europe had also grown intellectually since Viking days and had developed an interest in far distant regions. Great as were the contributions of classical geographers and of Mohammedan travellers and scholars to geographical science, the contributions made by

[1] "Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum," iv, 38. Other voyagers, no doubt, reached the Americas either from Europe or from Asia, but our information about them is very slight and unsatisfactory. See a summary of the Brendan problem by Joseph Dunn in the "Catholic Historical Review," VI (1921), 395 ff.

[2] The Ottoman Turk can, as a result of recent investigations, no longer be so entirely blamed, as he has been, for the stoppage of the Levantine trans-Asiatic trade of Europe. Lybyer, "The Ottoman Turk and the Routes of Oriental Trade," in "English Historical Review," CXX (1915), 577 ff.

Catholic pilgrim, missionary and commercial travellers can not be neglected. From the time of Constantine there had been a steady flow of pilgrims from Europe to the Levant, the movement culminating in the Crusades. In the thirteenth century the vision of Europe was more widely extended by the journeys made to Karakorum, the seat of the Mongol khans, by the Franciscan friars, Giovanni da Piano Carpino in 1245 and William Rubruck in 1253, and by the sojourn and more extended travels in the far east of the Polo brothers, Nicolò and Matteo, of Venice, in the decades immediately following.

In spite of the fact that science had not in the scholastic age come to enjoy a standing independent of philosophy, there were, nevertheless, schoolmen like Albertus Magnus and Roger Bacon whose writings could suggest to Dante his lines implying the sphericity of the earth,[3] and to Columbus, through transmitters, the idea of reaching the east by sailing west. Invention also aided geographical progress. The printing press not only insured against the loss of old knowledge, but also disseminated new ideas far and wide. The compass, astrolabe, timepieces and charts made navigators bolder.[4] Gunpowder broke down much of the power left to feudal particularism by the gradual transition of western Europe from a natural to a money economy. Men combined in larger or national units could render commercial enterprise greater support and protection than could any combination of mediæval city-states ever hope to give.

A more detailed study would show, furthermore, why Portugal led the nationalized States of Europe in over-sea undertakings. John the Good (1383-1433) consolidated the monarchy. His third son, commonly known as Prince Henry the Navigator, reified the thought of his age based

[3] "Purgatorio," xxvii, 1-4.

[4] Beazley, "Dawn of Modern Geography" (London and Oxford, 1897-1903), III, 500 ff.

on facts gathered from afar in time and place, furthered and applied invention and consecrated all to religion and the economic development of his native land. His striving led straightway to Vasco da Gama's voyage to India, to Columbus, to the shifting of the routes of trade; in short, to the first of the great revolutions that have made our world modern.

Columbus, therefore, sailed in 1492 under circumstances and auspices far different from those under which Leif Ericsson had in 1000. Their daring aside, the two men had nothing in common but their Faith. But Europe was after all to be disappointed for a time. Columbus reached not Asia, but a mass of land blocking his way to Asia. Only slowly was this fact realized. Spanish sailors and adventurers, released from the Moorish wars, scurried unmapped seas and followed strange coasts for leagues without finding anything more Asiatic in America than had Columbus. Balboa, however, raised the first serious doubt by his discovery of the Pacific Ocean in 1513, a doubt that was to be confirmed, and in being confirmed definitely to establish the non-Asiatic character of the Columbian discovery, by the world-encompassing voyage on which Magellan started in 1519.

In the meantime the Portuguese were building up and securing the Asiatic trade monopoly which had come to them as a result of the da Gama voyage of 1498. As early as 1507 they began to blockade the mouths of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf in order to prevent oriental goods from reaching the Levant by the water routes. But monopoly invites competition, and Spain perhaps had better reason to enter into competition with Portugal for this Asiatic trade than had any other of the European states. Was the Columbian investment after all to prove unremunerative? Perhaps a strait like that which Magellan had discovered in the far south, one leading conveniently through the Americas, could be located. Possibly, too, more gold

or more silver and even precious stones could be secured than had already been found on the islands and along the coasts to which Spanish explorers had laid claim.

Gold and a strait, therefore, prompted in the main the feverish searchings of the second generation of Spanish American adventurers. The larger islands, especially San Domingo (Hispaniola), and, presently, Cuba, were naturally the first seats of power and the bases from which expeditions set forth to other parts. Unfortunately for the future of Spain, the smaller islands were both too numerous and too destitute of prospects of great gains quickly made for the adventurers to occupy. The English, French and Dutch later took possession of them as bases for operations hostile to Spain in the very heart of her preserve. Ponce de Leon set out from Porto Rico and found Florida, the first of a series of attempts at settlement along the Atlantic seaboard which was in time to lead to collisions with both the French and the English. Balboa put forth from Cuba and discovered the Pacific Ocean, the beginning not only of the coast-wise voyages which led to the occupation of Central America and Peru, but presently also to the opening of the trans-Pacific trade with the Philippines which, with the Peruvian commerce, made the isthmus the commercial centre of Spanish America. The expedition, however, which was to be of the greatest significance was that of Cortez, which sailed from Cuba to Mexico in 1519.

The conquest of the Mexican El Dorado by Cortez not only shifted the base of Spanish-American operations, but also emphasized the treasure motive in them. Spanish adventurers now quickened their efforts to find other Mexicos. Ponce de Leon's attempts in Florida were followed up by Narvaez (1528), who, after finding nothing, built a fleet of flimsy craft with which he sailed along our Gulf coast until he met with shipwreck off Texas. Of those who escaped the disaster only Cabeza de Vaca and three others reached civilization six years later in northern Mexico. De Soto,

following Narvaez, traversed our southeastern Gulf States and discovered the Mississippi River (1542).

In the meantime de Vaca's stories of opulent cities he had heard about on his wanderings were taking effect in Mexico. Experience had proved, however, that expeditions against rich native states were costly and not to be lightly undertaken. Marcos, a Franciscan friar, blessed with an imagination, was, therefore, sent out to reconnoitre. His report immediately caused ships and a formidable land force to seek, somewhere in our Pueblo region, the new El Dorado. Coronado, the leader of the land expedition, marched (1541) as far as eastern Kansas and returned with nothing but the fame which attaches to a great exploring feat. Peru proved after all to be the only other Mexico which the Spaniards were to discover. But the idea that there must be other El Dorados died hard.

The story of the mad "rushes" for gold is, however, but one of several important contemporaneous developments. The primitive mining methods of the Indians had left in the earth much valuable ore which the Spaniards were not long finding. Much as they coveted the treasure, they did not mean to extract it themselves. There were the Indians, leading idle and apparently useless lives. They were, therefore, quickly allotted to individual Spaniards in groups, *encomiendas,* but not without the injunction that the *encomenderos* provide for the spiritual and temporal good and the protection of their charges. But the Spanish Government had to deal with men 3000 miles across seas whom it would have found it hard to control at home. The humane injunctions were too generally disregarded, with the result that the Indians, cruelly treated, died off rapidly. Man hunts in the Caribbean islands and on the South American coast partially made up the failing labor supply. Negroes were imported, but not in great numbers, because their introduction was too costly and the demand for labor too great and immediate.

Thanks to the godly in human nature, evil conditions are seldom long raising protestants. To a Dominican, Antonio de Montesinos, belongs the distinction of having made in 1511, the first public protest in America against human slavery. Three years later Bartolomé de Las Casas, who had become a priest about 1510, took up the anti-slavery propaganda. Finding his own efforts of little avail, he sold his worldly goods and went to Spain to secure official assistance. The Government did not temporize when it understood his cause. From time to time it published laws which, however, it could not for years, unfortunately, completely enforce, but armed with which Las Casas devoted his life to the cause of the emancipation and amelioration of the condition of the Indian. To Catholic Spain, then, is due "the first introduction of that spirit of Christian protest against the enslavement of beings formed in the image of their Maker, the triumph of which, though sealed by blood, has been the glory of the nineteenth century."[5]

After the middle of the sixteenth century, religion, at least always remembered, became in a larger measure than gold-seeking the motive power behind Spanish expansion in America. While progress was slower and less thrilling, it was, in view of the preoccupation of the mother country with the affairs of Europe, much more solid and more productive of lasting good results. The *encomenderos* gave way to the missionaries, Franciscan, Jesuit, Dominican, who gradually pushed the frontier up among the wilder Indian tribes. The missionaries persuaded these nomads to adopt settled ways of life in order to Christianize and civilize them, and then moved on to win new ground for Spain and more souls for Christ, leaving their places to be filled by secular clerics and the ordinary Spanish civil and military officials.

From Florida the missionaries moved northward into

[5] Lowery, "The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States" (New York, 1901), p. 165.

Georgia, Alabama, the Carolinas and even into Virginia. As early as 1612 books were published in the Indian dialects and by 1634, 30,000 converts were served by the Franciscans at thirty-four mission stations in Georgia alone. But Indian revolts, that even tried our national nerves, and English encroachment put an end to these missions and for a long time threatened their base in Florida. From Mexico the Franciscans moved northward into New Mexico, where Santa Fé was founded in 1609, and eastward into Texas and Louisiana to forestall a possible French advance. These missions were long maintained in spite of Indian wars and French attempts at colonization in the Southwest. Little more than a decade after the Jesuit, Marquette, and his companion, Joliet, opened new vistas of empire to the French by their voyage down the Mississippi (1673), another Jesuit, Kino, began (1687) the Spanish advance upon our California. When the Jesuit order was expelled eighty years later, the Franciscans took up its work. Urged on by their missionary zeal and by the Spanish fear of further Russian encroachment southward along the Pacific coast, they planned and built the mission rosary of California which, hallowed by the memory of the saintly *Padre* Junípero Serra, well deserves the secular resurrection vouchsafed it of recent years after decades of neglect and desecration.

The end of the California Missions came when revolutionary Mexico looted them under the guise of secularization. The patient work of the *padres,* who, in less than a century had brought the Indians out of the ways of barbarism to the portals of civilization, was largely undone. Deprived of the counsellors and protectors whom their condition still required, exposed to the vices and rapacity of men fearful neither of temporal nor of eternal consequences, the Indians declined to that state in which we find them now not only in California, but also in most parts of Spanish America. (For with independence the

St. Augustine Cathedral

story was everywhere the same.) Criticism of the mission system based upon the present state of the natives has gone the rounds of the social sciences, but much of it loses point when confronted by the fact that the Indians still exist where Spain had held sway, a fact which stands out "in marked contrast, after all allowances and qualifications have been made, with the fate, past and prospective, of the aborigines in North America, the Sandwich Islands, New Zealand and Australia . . .."[6]

But Spanish policy and conduct present other marked contrasts. The *encomienda* system was finally abolished. "Firewater" might not be sold to the Indians and their native *pulque* might neither be adulterated by it nor by any other harmful substance. The Indians were introduced to the rudiments of learning, the manual arts, agriculture and grazing as soon as they were taught the mysteries of religion. From the elementary schools of the missions and the villages, the more apt could pass to the higher institutions of learning, either founded expressly for the natives, as, for instance, Pedro de Gante's school in Mexico City, which was attended by over a thousand Indian boys,[7] or to the universities established primarily for the white population under the royal patronage. Bishop Zumárraga wished to have an Indian college founded in every diocese. The education of native girls was not neglected. "Not all the institutions of learning founded in Mexico in the sixteenth century can be enumerated here, but it is not too much to say that in number, range of studies and standards of attainments by the officers they surpassed anything existing in English America until the nineteenth century."[8]

Interesting, too, is it to note that the Spaniard pro-

[6] Bourne, "Historical Introduction" to Blair and Robertson, "The Philippine Islands" (Cleveland, 1907), p. 36.
[7] Bourne, "Spain in America" (New York, 1904), p. 308.
[8] Ibid., p. 310.

vided, unintentionally, to be sure, the basis of one of the most important sources of American wealth and well-being, the ranching and packing industries of the prairie West. Neither cattle nor horses are native to the American continents, considerable reason why the aborigines had been slow of cultural development. The western cattle and the steeds on which the "cowboys" once upon a time "rounded them up" are descended from those which strayed from the Spanish expeditions, mission stations and from Indians who had got them from the Spaniard. Parallel, too, is the story of the origin of the Argentine ranching and packing industries which, with the development of rapid and economical transportation facilities and the perfection of refrigeration processes, have taken rank with ours as a factor in the food policies of the industrialized States of Europe.

Until Philip II ascended the throne in 1556, Spain, though distracted by European entanglements not altogether of her own making, was not seriously molested in America. The Portuguese were too much engrossed in their round Africa trade to follow up either the voyages of the Corte-Reals to the North or that of Cabral to Brazil, a country clearly theirs by the terms of the treaty of Tordesillas. The French and English Governments were at the time of the discovery still too busy solving the problems of reconstruction thrust upon them by the civil wars which had followed the hundred years of conflict with each other. France, moreover, feeling her national strength returning and considering the weakness of her neighbors, Italy and Germany, was tempted into the bypaths of European aggression when she should have taken the high road of colonial expansion. The early voyages of the Cabots, of Verrazzano, of Cartier and of others, therefore, evince private rather than official interest in the new lands. Nevertheless, neither of the Governments failed to take advantage of these ventures as bases for its later claims on

American soil. The Dutch, though capable seamen, were busy making the most of the prosperity which their countryman, the Emperor Charles V, also King of Spain, brought to them by financing in the Netherlands his numerous wars with the French and their ally, the Turk.

In 1556 Charles V abdicated, leaving to his son Spain, the Americas, the Netherlands and parts of Italy—a stimulating legacy of trouble. Advancing Protestantism, which had given some religious color to his father's foreign wars, gave full color to those of the reign of Philip. Protestantism invaded and divided France, England and the Netherlands. If the consequent disturbances could have been localized in these countries, Spain might have continued long, at least for the period of the religious wars, peacefully to enjoy America alone, and might even have been spared her marked decline. But both Protestantism and Philip were too militant. Utterly impossible would it have been for any Catholic prince to maintain his rule over the Calvinistic Dutchmen. Philip's interference in behalf of the Catholic parties in France and in England promptly drew upon him and Spain the wrath of the Protestant elements in these countries.

The Catholic championship of Philip proved fruitful of great results. Protestantism, stayed, indeed, in Europe, moved on upon Asia and America. Religion from being a major cause of wars in the sixteenth century gave way as such in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to nationalized economic considerations. Providence had favored the Catholic Iberian States in the Age of Discovery by assigning to the one, Portugal, the always coveted Asiatic trade monopoly, and to the other, Spain, the boundless wealth of the Americas.

Feeling the pressure of the Portuguese monopoly in their trade balances and the power which Spain drew from her American mines in their wars, the less fortunately situated Protestant states of northern Europe were not

long developing mercantilistic policies. Since credit was still in its embryonic state, gold and silver, whether coined or uncoined, were regarded as necessary for prosperity in time of peace and for success in time of war. The indispensable wealth in the form of precious metals might be gained directly either by finding new El Dorados or by intercepting the Spanish treasure fleets. Raleigh, consequently, sought the end of the rainbow in the Guiana country (1595) and the Jamestown settlers went gold hunting when they should have been laying up provisions for winter. French Protestants established a base in Florida from which their pirate craft could prey at will upon the treasure-laden galleons of the Catholic King.[9] English seamen, Hawkins and his successors, among whom was the redoubtable Drake, the second circumnavigator of the globe (1577-1580), terrorized the Spanish Main.

Slightly less direct, but not less aggressive, methods of securing the coveted gold and silver were, however, gradually introduced. The precious metals, it was argued, must pour into the coffers of the country which so extended and regulated its trade that at the end of fiscal years the national ledger would show a favorable balance. Prohibitions and high tariffs, Machiavellian diplomacy and ruthless wars were the means generally used to supplement individual and corporate ability and energy in order to gain the end. Colonies, too, were presently included in the mercantilistic scheme. Besides serving as bases for distant aggressive measures, they would be, as new countries always are, necessarily committed to the extractive industries. Colonies, duly regulated, could, therefore, in the course of time be expected not only to furnish such raw materials as the mother country lacked and, consequently,

[9] The French were driven off by Menendez, who founded (1565) St. Augustine, the oldest city in the United States, in order to forestall future attempts of the sort. The conduct of Menendez has long been cited as an illustration of how Spaniards made war, but see Bourne, "Spain in America," pp. 178 ff.

was obliged to purchase from other States to the detriment of her trade balance, but also to become a market for the surplus products which she found difficulty in disposing of because other countries were likewise trying to avoid unfavorable trade balances.

The religious drapery underneath which this programme of North European commercial expansion was carried out has only of recent years been drawn aside by economic history. "The heroic struggle of the Dutch for religious liberty and for freedom from the Spanish yoke displays itself, when looked at in a 'dry light,' as a century-long war for the conquest of East Indian colonies[10] and an equally long privateering assault on the silver fleets of Spain and the Spanish-American colonial trade."[11] The Dutch, successful in Asia, established themselves also in South America and in our New York. With difficulty Portugal expelled them from Brazil and began to develop her trade with that colony in order to offset her oriental losses. But her day was over.

England presently got control of this Brazilian commerce and even of the Portuguese vineyards. Englishmen, too, were wide awake to possibilities both in Asia and in North America. While some sought new routes to the East Indies about northern Asia, the Northeast Passage, and about northern North America, the Northwest Passage, others battered their way into the Spanish colonial trade. Imitating the methods of the highly successful Dutch, individuals and corporations established trading-posts in the far East and colonies on our American seaboard. Details need not detain us, for the story of English colonization has been told often and he who runs may read the economic background of their enterprise. Suffice it to

[10] Portugal was for most of the period of Spanish-Dutch conflict united with Spain (1581-1640).

[11] Schmoller, "The Mercantile System and its Historical Significance" (New York, 1902), p. 65.

point only to the end: the Dutch lost their monopoly and the major portion of their empire in Asia; Spain, her position in North America.

Catholicism, however, was not unrepresented in the struggle for commercial empire. The many advantages of colonies in supplementing the power and enhancing the prestige of the mother country did not escape the notice of the first Bourbon, Henry IV, and his minister, Sully. Though Catholic only from expediency, Henry IV could not control, if he wished, the missionary instinct of the French people that was bound to enter into what he promoted as an economic enterprise. The story of French endeavor in America is quickly told. Champlain, who came out in Henry IV's time, after starting a settlement in Nova Scotia (Acadia), naturally drifted, as Cartier had, down the St. Lawrence. Quebec, founded in 1608, became the base of French operations. Topography and short-sighted French sovereigns in the main not only determined the character, but also spelled the doom of French empire in America. Launched upon the St. Lawrence, French adventurers and missionaries could paddle their Indian canoes either directly or indirectly (by the waterways of Ontario and Georgian Bay) into the Great Lakes, and thence, by any number of most convenient portages into the Mississippi River system. Marquette and Joliet's travels are but the most noteworthy of many, even if less extensive, excursions which made known the interior of the United States to France and to Europe.

But exploration is one thing and colonization another. French Protestants, protected by the Edict of Nantes, would probably not have come out in great numbers even if the country had been opened to them. French Catholics, once more in the ascendancy, were deeply absorbed in European affairs. If, indeed, all France had emigrated, it could hardly have settled and held so vast a territory. La Salle, fully aware of the importance of the great Mississippi

Valley, made an effort to hold it for France by building forts in the Illinois country and by attempting to establish a colony near the mouth of the great river. But though the latter part of his plan was presently realized and our Louisiana became, like the country about Quebec, French, all was in vain, for even the most notable of the Bourbon dynasty, Louis XIV, was brilliant but not truly great. If Louis XIV had been truly great he would have spent his incomparable resources not in costly attempts to seize European States, from two of which, the Netherlands and Spain, he might indeed indirectly make colonial gains, but in turning the latent strength and energy of his bourgeois to the upbuilding of his domain in North America, a land which even an unprophetic eye might have discerned as being climatically and in every other respect designed to be the seat of an advanced civilization. France failed to take advantage of her opportunity. In failing, she lost for Catholicism, despite the generous efforts and heroic virtue of its missionaries, the heart of our country.

We cannot say whether the English sovereigns would or would not have been wiser than their French contemporaries. Beyond issuing charters the Stuarts had little time to devote to anything but the troubles rising out of their tactless dealing with the economic unrest of their day charged with the revolutionary energy of Calvinism in the guise of Puritanism. Puritanism, which so generally shaped the course of events in England that led to the dethronement of the Stuarts in 1688, in a large measure also affected the course of American colonial development. The foundation of the Plymouth, of the Massachusetts Bay and of the New Haven colonies is to be referred directly to the Puritan agitation of the reigns of James I and Charles I. The river towns of Connecticut and Rhode Island were respectively the Isaac and Ishmael of Massachusetts Bay. Catholicism was a factor in the founding of Maryland and Quakerism in that of Pennsylvania. Anglicanism, though

often hard pressed, and in Cromwell's years even disestablished, never founded a colony, but as the State religion got entry before 1688 into all save the professedly Puritan settlements.

While Puritanism in its own New England quickly rid itself of intruders, like the Quakers, it bustled into every other colony, whether welcomed or not, and attempted to settle affairs in them *ad sui mentem.* The Puritan element so far got control of the London Company which settled Virginia that James I found it necessary for self-protection to make Virginia a royal colony. Puritans accepted the hospitality of the Dutch in their New Netherland and contributed to the undoing of their hosts. The story of Maryland, the Catholic colony, also is replete with Puritan agitation.

Catholicism, proscribed in England, had early looked to America for relief. Years before the Mayflower sailed Catholic gentlemen had planned to found in New England a refuge from the severities of the Elizabethan régime, but had met with misfortunes. When, therefore, George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, announced his conversion in 1625 and laid plans to realize the projects of the earlier English Catholic adventurers, he naturally also looked to the North. The country, however, proved too inhospitable, and Baltimore, consequently, obtained a charter authorizing him to settle in what he called, and we still call, Maryland. George Calvert lived to see neither the consummation of his plans nor the fruition of his ideas of religious toleration. His successor to the title and to the charter, his son, Cecilius, however, carried out his wishes and in 1634, when Roger Williams was still wrestling with the closed minds of Massachusetts, proclaimed religious toleration for Maryland.

The fact that a Catholic by two years anticipated Roger Williams in this respect has led some to impugn the motives of the Baltimores. Toleration in Maryland, they argued,

was a matter of expediency without conviction; in Rhode Island, a matter of conviction with no thought of expediency. Their efforts have on the whole been unsuccessful as may be gathered from Professor Bassett's summary statement: "In a country as strongly anti-Catholic as England it behooved the Calverts to be tolerant, but there is no reason to think that the liberty of conscience which they granted in Maryland did not arise from their sense of justice and liberality."[12]

"Toleration," continues Professor Bassett, "attracted to Maryland people of varying religious beliefs" who were, unfortunately, not so liberal, and among these, we may add, the most numerous were Puritans who had suffered persecution in Virginia or had found New England uncomfortable. When events in England pointed to a Puritan victory, these settlers turned against the proprietor and persecuted the Catholics. Fearing the growing power of this element, Baltimore sought to safeguard his proprietary rights and those of his Catholic settlers by transmitting to the Assembly in 1649 the draft of a series of laws which he desired that body to enact without changes. Two of these laws are worthy of note: the first, commonly called the Act of Toleration, reiterated the principle of religious charity according to which the colony had been governed from its beginning; the second established the first Indian reservation in order to protect the natives from the ruthlessness so general in English America.

The sequel to this Catholic experiment in religious toleration and the nature of the opportunities for Catholics elsewhere can readily be guessed. Except for a few years in the latter half of the reign of Charles II and in that of James II, the Catholics and missions of Maryland had a checkered career. In the last decade or so of the Stuart period Catholicism had advanced also in New York because

[12] "Short History of the United States" (New York, 1921), p. 5.

James II, then Duke of York, was made proprietor of that province. James in 1682 appointed a Catholic, Thomas Dongan, governor, who in obedience to his superior's wishes caused the Assembly to establish religious freedom. But all was undone by the "Glorious Revolution" which unseated James. Leisler in New York and Coode in Maryland apparently closed the doors forever upon Catholic opportunity in America. Even the Quakers of Pennsylvania walked circumspectly. William of Orange succeeded James, and though the Puritan element which had given him so enthusiastic a welcome both in England and in America, was somewhat disappointed in him, for Catholics "the year 1690 was an era when all hopes of the true faith . . . seemed blasted and the prospects of the Church in the English colonies gloomy beyond description."[13]

The seventeenth century ended and the eighteenth ran through three full quarters of its course with little or no relief for Catholics from bigotry and persecution. The commercial wars with Catholic France, that began in 1689 and with occasional truces lasted until 1763, fanned the fire of hatred. The religious renaissance known as the "Great Awakening," the Methodist movement, and the Irish immigration which poured into Pennsylvania and down its "pocket," the Shenandoah Valley, into the western counties of Virginia and the Carolinas and westward across the mountains were added fuel to the fire. Many Catholics wavered and because of the lack of priestly encouragment fell from the Faith. Others, however, drew strength from their adverse condition. We know little about these men, and not much about the movements of the priests who helped them to keep their Faith. But their number could not have been very small, if there is any foundation, as there undoubtedly is, to the many "Popish scares" and to the fact, at length reluctantly recognized, that Catholics fought valiantly in the war of the American Revolution.

[13] Shea, "The Catholic Church in Colonial Days" (New York, 1886), p. 99.

These men by their perseverance made the last and, perhaps, the most noteworthy Catholic contribution to American civilization in the colonial era. Spain's star was already setting in America when the eighteenth century opened. France's set forever in 1763. Great as Spanish efforts had been, they came to naught in our Southeastern States with the English settlement of the Carolinas and Georgia. The ruins of the missions point to the end of Catholic endeavor in our Southwest and California. French Catholic activity has left its saintly traces on our maps and will forever compel the writers of the histories of most of our trans-Allegheny States to devote their opening chapters to its quality. Missions there were, of course, in many parts of both Spanish and French territory, but these availed little to stem the tide that was rising. English, Protestant America moved over these territories, Spanish and French, westward even to the Pacific, and but for the men who persevered in their Faith and moved westward with this tide, later comers could not so soon and so surely have coöperated in the work of reclaiming this fair land to Catholicism, nor made their many and notable contributions to American civilization.

# THE FRANCISCAN MISSIONS

C. M. WAAGE, ESQ.

A young boy dreaming by the Spanish main:
Knee-high in waving grain,
He halts at eve and dreams,
Where green Majorca fronts the cycling sea,
And far worlds ceaselessly
Beckon with passing sails and swinging tide,
And plunging galleons ride
Home from adventure, or away, away
To silken bright Cathay,
Or where dark India her golden treasure yields;
A young boy dreaming in his father's fields,
Who plucks a lily from the bending wheat
And stands with veiled glance and searching eyes
Pale with some great emprise,
Beyond the homing waters of his isle,
Beyond Majorca's skies;—
And dreams and dreams the while!

WITH these tender words does Charles Phillips, the Catholic poet, open an ode to the memory of Junipero Serra. It is a picture of the future priest, seeing vaguely upon the screen of childhood's imagination the dream scenes of valiant service, rendered at great sacrifice in the army of the King Who rules the whole world. It is impossible to approach the subject of the Franciscan Missions in California without laying particular stress upon the personality and the labors of Junipero Serra, a Spanish monk, who, having been ordained a priest, took upon himself the cross of the missionary to preach the gospel in distant lands. It was in California that the dreams of his boyhood were to be finally realized, and the wonderful chain of Franciscan Missions, woven link by link, became their realization.

To this remarkable man God had given many graces. He united within a comely exterior great piety, unbounded energy and the art of eloquence in a surpassing degree. With these distinctions he had been offered an easy position at the Spanish court, but had spurned the offer, preferring, like a true son of the Poverello, to share his life with the poor and lowly rather than listen to the flatteries of courtiers and the praise of princes.

In the capital of New Spain, as Mexico was then named, there was a Franciscan college, the College of San Fernando, especially dedicated to missionary work in the Spanish provinces of the Western World. Thither in due time Serra repaired, and he may be said to have served his apprenticeship as a missionary in the district of Sierra Gorda, a wild and inhospitable region, where his labors among the natives were considered truly phenomenal. It was during his stay in Sierra Gorda that Serra suffered an injury, the painful effects of which rendered him lame for life. Through the sting of some venomous insect or reptile or, perhaps, through the contact with a poisonous thorn, his blood became infected, often causing his foot and leg to swell, while covering them with sores. With an affection so extremely painful, one may well wonder at the fortitude of a man, who for many years covered immense distances in wild and often almost impassable countries, steadfastly refusing any other means of locomotion than that of his own legs.

Meanwhile Serra would most likely have spent the rest of his days in Sierra Gorda but for two incidents, one following close upon the other, neither of them anticipated by the zealous priest, whose success as a missionary had marked him for a leader. With the opening of the year 1768 the dread message reached New Spain that His Most Catholic Majesty, Carlos III of Spain, had suppressed the Jesuit Order throughout his vast realm, giving no reason for this extraordinary act. Among the Spanish possessions

was California, not as we know it to-day, but consisting merely of the long and narrow peninsula, running parallel with the Mexican coast and now designated as Lower California. The conversion of natives here had been carried on by the Jesuit Fathers and, owing to the royal decree, these unhappy priests were now doomed to leave the field of their life's work and were in due time succeeded by the Franciscans, a royal order having gone forth to the effect that the College of San Fernando supply the missionaries for the peninsula. Thus it came to pass that on Easter Sunday, April 3, 1768, we find Junipero Serra as father *presidente* of fifteen missionaries in Loreto, where at the conclusion of High Mass he addressed the congregation of Europeans and natives in a forcible sermon, and the next day distributed the missions among his companions.

And here Father Serra was seemingly established for life in a missionary field, directing much important work and employing his talents to the best advantage. But the second unforeseen incident was yet to happen, and it came without delay.

There had been for some time past a rising jealousy between Russia and Spain in regard to dominion on the Pacific Coast. South, as we know, Spain exercised her undisputed rule. In the far North, Russia had established trading posts for furs, but it was now discovered that the Russian trappers were working southward apace, and Spain became suspicious. The Government then ordered Don José de Gálvez, the personal representative in Mexico of King Carlos and Inspector-General of New Spain, to send soldiers and missionaries northward into Alta California (the present State of California) ; for the Spanish Government had learned the lesson that the gentle ways of the missionaries would gain the friendship of the savages, where the weapons of the soldiers failed to awe them.

Hence, scarcely a twelve-months after his installation at Loreto, Fr. Serra is preparing to leave for more northern

fields, and on July 1, 1769, forty-six days after leaving the last mission in Lower California, we find him on the shore of San Diego Bay with an expedition in command of Captain Jasper Portola. Here they are joined by another expedition, consisting of two vessels, and with this event the work of the Franciscan Fathers in California may be said to have taken its beginning. In order to further elucidate our theme it may be observed here that San Diego and Monterey were known to Spain and claimed by her from the year 1602, when Sebastian Vizcaino visited and charted these harbors and gave them the names they bear to this day. Hence the primary object of the present move on the part of Spain was to occupy these two points and reëstablish Spanish dominion there.

And now, having brought Father Serra and a well trained band of missionaries to the scene of their new activities, it may be worth while to digress for a moment and consider what was happening on this continent at that period. Fr. Serra spent the years 1770-1784 in his great work on the west coast of our land. We are reminded that many of these years were given to another gigantic task on the opposite shore by another great leader, George Washington. And between these two scenes of tremendous activities were vast stretches of country, untrodden by the foot of a white man. An American historian, writing about that period, says: "If we eliminate the figure of Washington from American history between 1776 and 1780, to go no further, what have we left? The story of the Revolution is Washington's biography." Even so: the story of the Franciscan missions from that July 1, 1769, until Serra's death in 1784, is his biography, written like Washington's in the character and the greatness of noble deeds.

We return to the missions. We find them rising in rapid succession, some of them in sight of the Pacific Ocean, some of them further inland, but all of them within easy reach of the sea border, and wherever the mission walls

throw their shadows upon sand or sward, wherever the sound of mission bells floats upon the pure air of California with welcoming notes, the Indian gradually leaves the darkness of savagery and superstition and steps into the clearer light of a higher civilization and a living faith.

It must be admitted that Serra was singularly favored in the matter of associates, for, apart from having with him the friend of his life, Fr. Paloú, he was accompanied by a number of men particularly well fitted for the task they were called upon to perform. Nevertheless, the fathers had numerous obstacles to overcome, sometimes depending upon the almost miraculous to happen in order that final success might be theirs. The Indians were frequently difficult to approach and the Spanish officers accompanying them were often none too patient. But Fr. Serra's indomitable courage and the faithful adherence of his companions proved strong enough to overcome all vicissitudes that arose from time to time.

To attempt in a brief essay, like the present one, to trace in detail the steps of Fr. Serra and his fellow missionaries would be vain. The work has already consumed volumes, and as yet the task is not finished. We must therefore use a broad brush for our canvas, depicting first the period from the founding of the Mission San Diego until the death of Fr. Serra. While we cannot say that these missions entirely escaped the savagery of the natives, still there were comparatively few who suffered the martyr's death. This, undoubtedly, was greatly due to the personality of the fathers, to their excellent training at San Fernando and to the speed with which they worked.

For behold! Having established the Mission of San Diego in 1770, during the following year they established three more, namely: San Carlos near Monterey, San Antonio of Padua and San Gabriel. In 1772 San Louis Obispo sprang into existence, in 1776 Mission San Francisco de Asis, better known as the Mission Dolores, and the Mission

Carmel Mission

San Juan Capistrano followed. Mission Santa Clara was founded in 1777 and San Bonaventura in 1779. These are the nine missions finished and in active operation during the life of Serra.

Anyone examining the map and expecting the missions built during Serra's time and after to have been founded in rotation as they there appear, will discover his error. Nevertheless, they were built on a certain plan, making San Carlos the centre and filling in the distances between the two ends, North and South, from time to time; thus finally forming one line, studded with missions, mostly within a day's journey on foot from one another. Nor were these equi-distances accidental. Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt, O. F. M., whose extensive research of mission history surpasses any other survey of the same subject, speaking about these distances, refers us to Deuteronomy, vs. 2, 3, and 4—"I command thee that thou separate three cities of equal distances from one another . . . so that he who is forced to flee for manslaughter may have near at hand whither to escape . . ." This, Fr. Zephyrin explains, had become a law in all Spanish domains and any offender seeking sanctuary within the sacred precincts of a church, would not be delivered to the civil authorities until assurance had been given of a fair trial.

As it was impossible to interest the natives in religion before having established some other point of contact of a more material nature, the missionaries realized the necessity of bringing them as early as possible in touch with more advanced methods of securing comforts of life. The natives were naturally an indolent race. They made but very primitive shelters for housing purposes and wore no clothing. As long as there was plenty of food they lived high in their own way, and when hard times came they starved. By taking advantage of these primitive conditions and showing the natives how they might improve their environments and ameliorate their hardships, the

fathers gradually succeeded in gaining their confidence, though it often happened that many months elapsed at new missions before conversions took place.

Let it now be remembered that with the fathers had come from Lower California a number of soldiers and also neophytes. Furthermore, shortly after the fathers had settled in San Diego, fresh supplies came up from the South, supplies of cattle and mules and other necessaries, and such additional arrivals occurred all along, coming overland or from the shore points as they became known. Then again the Spanish garrison, which followed the fathers and had to establish posts in the vicinity of the missions, erected what they called *presidios* (military posts), and thus in a brief space of time in barren and hitherto desolate places colonies were formed, and the novelty of such hitherto unknown activity must have attracted the natives through a sense of curiosity, if for no other reason.

The story of one mission is very much that of another, at least in a general way, and the story is: that the fathers succeeded in attaching the natives to their persons and to their establishments. Not that they did not suffer frequent and bitter disappointments. Among the neophytes were more than one Judas, but again the training and the endurance of the fathers overcame the obstacles.

Thus it happened that the natives, who a few years or a few months previously had been untrained and unskilled, ignorant of all finer sentiment and strangers to all higher speculation, have now turned their hands to mechanical arts, have learned how to make and how to lay bricks, how to prepare lumber for house building purposes, how to till the ground and reap the fruit thereof and how to tend the cattle. Aye, and they have progressed much further! They have learned how to shear the sheep, to spin the wool and weave the cloth. They no more go naked—they make clothes for themselves, even head coverings and shoes, and

the California Indian has become a rational being, knowing right from wrong and abandoning superstition. Many, especially among the younger ones, have picked up the Castilian language and can now act as interpreters for their own people. They have grasped the idea of God, the creator of all things; that it is He Who causes the grain to sprout, the leaf to unfold, the bud to burst into blossom, and the great mystery of the redemption of fallen man has been imparted to them. And, so, after a while we find these Indians coming closer to the fathers, looking to them as their guides and instructors, voluntarily joining in their worship and with Rosary in hand saying their *"Ave Maria"* and their *"Pater Noster."*

The Spanish Government undertook to protect the missionaries, and in some places there would be a *presidio* near the mission. At all times the nearest *presidio* would send a guard to be housed at the mission, which always had rooms set apart for this purpose. The architecture of the mission is of a distinct character, Spanish, of course, but with a touch of originality, which does the fathers, as their designers, great credit. The walls were mostly of adobe, but in some cases stone was used. The roof was of a very wide angle at the ridge, and the various portions were held together with strong bands made from grass. The covering was generally thatch or tiles.

When the mission was finished it presented a very imposing appearance. The church with its tower and bells, often hung in artistically arranged belfries, might be at one side. Then the mission would extend for about 500 or 600 feet in one direction, with a cemetery at the opposite side of the church. The main group would consist of four large buildings, forming a *patio* or square within, and in the centre of which might be a fountain or some other useful or ornamental feature. Colonnades frequently followed the four walls of the *patio* and also adorned the principal wall, facing the approach, giving a fine effect to

the façade. From the four buildings forming the *patio*, others would project at right angles to meet still others running parallel, and the whole would be enclosed by an encircling wall. The one most striking feature about it all was the fine proportions, always observed in dimensions and distances.

Thus we have an extensive area covered with buildings, used for a variety of purposes. The finished mission, besides the quarters for the fathers and the guard, contained a number of departments: granaries, store houses, tool houses, shops for the manufacture of a variety of articles, dormitories and refectories for the males and others for the females. There would be forges for the blacksmith and wagon maker, carpenters' shops, a bake house and places for crushing the grain into flour, which in the early days was done in a very primitive fashion. In short, the mission was fitted out so as to meet the emergencies of every-day life in an isolated and distant place. And in the shops men were working at the harder toil, if not engaged in the culture of field and garden, while the women busied themselves with lighter employment, and round about the mission we would find the *ranchería*, that is, the native village, where dwelled the married people in their own separate adobe houses. Everything was well regulated. There were hours for work and hours for rest; hours for worship and hours for play; hours for rising in the morning and for retiring in the evening, and the schedule was followed with military precision, or, perhaps, rather with the discipline and precision of a Franciscan monastery.

It was not till about the close of the century that settlers made their way into this strange country, but meanwhile the fathers had long since discovered the golden resources of the soil and demonstrated its fruitfulness. Thus one mission would be famous for its vineyards, another for its cattle, and yet another for its grain, and so forth, and gradually, as time passed by, they became self-

supporting, in consequence of which many thousand persons were fed and cared for. And the time came when the Government took gross advantage of the success of the missions, taxing them frequently entirely beyond their capacity, and only the patience and tact of the fathers saved the situation in many instances.

On August 28, 1784, Fr. Junipero Serra breathed his last at Mission San Carlos, where he is buried. It may truly be said that he died on the battlefield, wielding a victorious lance, and a merciful God called him before the storm broke, which should undo so much of his noble work. Fr. Paloú succeeded Fr. Serra, but after a year's service he retired to San Fernando, and Fr. Lasuén assumed the leadership as *presidente.* And now a new start was made in the establishment of missions. In the year 1787 Mission Santa Barbara was founded, and between then and 1798 seven others followed, namely: Mission Purísima Concepción in 1787; Mission de Neustra Señora de la Soledad in 1791; Mission San José, San Juan Bautista, San Miguel and San Fernando Rey in 1797, and San Luis Rey in 1798. Four years into the new century Santa Ynez sprang into existence, and twenty years later Mission San Francisco Solano closed the northern end of the *Camino Real.*

But the mission period had drifted from comparatively calm waters into a turbulent sea of human passions, that cared little for the conversion of benighted heathens. The American War of Independence was but the prologue to a world drama, which took its cue from the word "Liberty," but neglected the motto: "In God we trust." The Spanish colonies became affected by the restlessness that crept upon the world, and the missionaries began to feel the increasing indifference toward their noble work. By this time many thousands of natives had been for at least one generation weaned from savagery. They clung to the fathers and as a general thing practised their religion steadfastly. Some of them had learned to write and read; all had acquired

the knowledge of profitable arts. Fr. Zephyrin refers to a non-Catholic writer, who, discussing the work of the Franciscan Fathers, says: "Those were toilsome journeys which the missionaries took through desolate wastes and tangled wilds. It was no easy task to civilize a nation of untamed savages; but sincerity of purpose gave success to their labors, and the seed which they planted still bears a visible harvest."

Notwithstanding all this, the hour for secularization came, when Mexico had severed herself from the mother country. The dawn of civilization, which had been shed upon the natives, was ignored. The priests were accused of using the Indians for selfish purposes in order to enrich themselves. It was charged that they ill-treated them, held them in the bondage of slavery, and the great work of the Franciscan Fathers was spurned. The Indians were deliberately told that they were serfs. They were called together and by the new Government "given their freedom" and promised land upon which to settle. Were they elated? Did they rejoice at the promise? Nothing of the sort. With but few exceptions they asked leave to stay with the fathers and continue their life at the missions. Poor Indians! Poor Fathers! There were no more missions. The property was to be sold, the herds went to upstart squatters, who had established themselves in ranchos, assuming the air of grandees and adding titles to their names. The buildings that had served as homes and schools for thousands of Indians were allowed to fall into decay; the churches in which the sacred rites had been performed for the edification and consolation of the natives of the soil were gradually stripped of their sacred objects; the priests who had carried out this great work of civilizing and converting the poor Indians, who had made pleasant oases in the California wilderness and proved to all coming ages the real value of the soil, these toilers for the cause of humanity were disbanded, while lying tongues spoke evil of them

and sought to put anathema on their sublime efforts. The spirit of Catholic Spain to give to poor pagans the light and consolation of the Catholic faith had given way to a spirit of greed and avarice on the part of nineteenth century Mexicans, who finally handed the country, ruined missions, degraded Indians and the rest, over to the United States. But at this stage our story has been told.

Let it not be thought that secularization, which finally caused the complete ruin of the missions and the mission work, came upon the Fathers as a sudden and unlooked-for surprise. It was in the air for years. It even began as far back as 1813 during Spanish rule, but it meant then the substitution of secular priests for Franciscan Fathers, the establishment of parishes around the mission churches, the making into citizens of converted Indians. Such an act would have reflected no discredit upon the Franciscan Fathers, but the decree was never carried out and was even at one time revoked. The final stroke came in 1833, when the Republic of Mexico renewed the decree and set to work to carry it out. Of this execution Dwinelle in his "Colonial History" says: "The secularization laws were after all executed in such a manner that they resulted only in the plunder of the missions and their complete ruin, and in the demoralization and dispersion of the Christianized Indians. There was an understanding between the Government of Mexico and the leading men of California that the Government might absorb the Pious Fund,* while its representatives in California should appropriate the local wealth of the missions by the rapid and sure process of

* The Pious Fund was a fund which originated in voluntary contributions for the propagation of the Catholic faith in California, and upon which the missions had drawn during their life. When they ceased to function and Francisco García Diego was made Bishop of California in 1840 by Pope Gregory XVI, this fund was given in his charge, but two years later President Santa Anna issued a decree, according to which the Mexican Government took charge of it. In 1902, Archbishop Riordan of San Francisco caused the matter to be presented to the tribunal of The Hague, when the case was decided

administering their temporalities." And Wilkes in his "Exploring Expedition" says: "The country was deprived of its religious establishments, upon which its society and good order were founded. Anarchy and confusion began to reign. Some of the missions were deserted, their property was dissipated, and the Indians turned out to seek their native wilds. The property became a prey of the governor, the administrators and their needy officers."

Again, we learn from O'Gorman's "History of the Catholic Church in the United States" that in 1836 there was a population of 30,000 Indians in California, reduced in eight years to 4450. The live stock belonging to the Indians was estimated at about 1,000,000, which eight years later had dwindled to 60,000 head of cattle, and, whereas in 1836 125,000 bushels of wheat constituted the annual crop and there was a brisk output and export of soap, leather, wine, oil, cotton, hemp, tobacco, salt and soda, it is found that in 1842 the wheat raised by the Indians amounted to only 40,000 bushels and all the other industries had dwindled to nothing, ceased to exist.

Among the foremost figures towards the close of the mission period was Fr. José Bernardo Sánchez, the *presidente* of the Mission San Gabriel, where he died and was buried in January, 1833. Fr. Sánchez was a staunch opponent of Governor Echeandia's secularization scheme and severely criticized it, and it is said that he died from a broken heart at all the evil the governor and his party had wrought upon the Indian neophytes.

We meet Fr. Sánchez in the diary of one Harrison G. Rogers, who, in 1826, comes overland with the Jedediah S. Smith exploring party, trying to locate Oregon. They have got within the Mexican lines and are temporarily under arrest, until they can give a satisfactory explanation of their presence. Smith has gone to San Diego to see

in favor of the Catholic Church of California, to which Mexico was directed to pay a perpetual annuity.

the governor and Rogers is detained at the mission. He is of Puritan stock and a perfect stranger to all things Catholic. One might expect him to express himself with some lack of appreciation of what he sees at the mission. A few extracts from his diary, which he keeps religiously, will give an idea of his impressions. He arrives on Monday, November 27, 1826. He calls the mission "the mansion." Fr. Sánchez he calls "Father Sanchus," and throughout, his spelling and composition reveal lack of education. On November 29 he writes: "Still at the mansion. They all appear friendly and treat us well, although they are Catholicks by profession, they allow us the liberty of conscience and treat us as they do their own countrymen or brethren."

December 13—"I walked through the workshops; I saw some Inds. blacksmithing, some carpentering, others making the woodwork of ploughs, others employed in making spinning wheels for the squaws to spin on. There are upwards of sixty women employed in spinning yarn, and others weaving."

There is no room for extensive quoting here. The above is interesting as showing the observation of a complete stranger, whose education leaves him no room for sympathy with Catholics. On Monday, January 22, 1827, Rogers is preparing to leave, and this is what he enters in his diary: "Old Father Sanchus has been the greatest friend I ever met with in all my travels; he is worthy of being called a Christian, as he possesses charity in the highest degree, and a friend to the poor and distressed. I ever shall hold him as a man of God, taking us, when in distress, feeding and clothing us, and may God prosper him and all such men."

Our picture, vast of dimensions, as it is, has now been fitted to the best of our ability into a frame, much too small to do it justice. But, as we let fall the curtain upon these scenes of holy endeavor, it would seem fitting to add a few closing words of the echo, which to-day reverberates

in the very heart of California, calling to life once more the days of the fathers and the Franciscan Missions.

All along from San Diego in the South to Solano in the North the *Camino Real*—the King's Highway—winds from mission to mission, following the very path the brown-robed friars used to walk in the long ago. But to-day most of the missions are in ruins, some of them have entirely disappeared, and but a very few may as yet be used for service. But there is a spirit abroad in California, supported above all by the native element, the two organizations known as the Native Sons of the Golden West and the Native Daughters of the Golden West. Independent of creed, these organizations are leading a movement which has for its object the restoration of the Mission churches, that they may once more rise from their ruins as monuments, pointing the coming generations to the sublime work of the Franciscan Fathers, which was sanctified by God, blessed by man and finally destroyed by infidelity.

# CATHOLICISM IN THE CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION

HENRY GRATTAN DOYLE, A. M.

THE period which it is the purpose of this paper to treat, namely, from the Repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854 until the election of Hayes in 1876, is one of the most eventful and critical in American history. Its opening found the question of the extension of slavery a subject of bitter controversy. Its close was to see slavery a thing of the past, the Negroes not only emancipated, but admitted to citizenship and, theoretically anyway, enfranchised and the work of reconstruction, at least in the political sense, practically accomplished. Surely an epochal twenty years! Again, its opening found the so-called Know-Nothing movement, with its announced program of denial of civil rights to Catholic Americans, at the height of its brief success; its close found a country in which Catholic citizens were respected for their proven loyalty, self-sacrifice and patriotism, while anti-Catholic feeling, for the time being at any rate, was obscured by a somewhat generous recognition of the faithful and distinguished services of Americans of the Catholic Faith. Its swift-flying years saw the exciting political campaigns of 1854-5-6; the rise of the Republican Party; the Dred Scott decision of 1857; the ominous approach of civil strife under Buchanan's administration; the John Brown raid of 1859; the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860; the trying days of the Civil War, with the times of uncertainty and unrest which followed it; the administration of Grant; the rise of corruption in municipal and the national Government, culminating in the fall of the "Tweed Ring" in 1871-2, and the "Crédit Mobilier" scandal of 1872-3, and

the portentous Hayes-Tilden contest of 1876, in which the ghost of an appeal to arms as a means of settling political differences was laid to rest forever. A most eventful twenty years, in which men's souls were tried as never before in our history and throughout which Catholic citizens played their due and proper part, active, in proportion to their numbers, and sometimes, perhaps, out of all proportion to them, serving faithfully in the ranks or brilliantly at the head of the column, in the stirring events of those exciting days.

The Know-Nothing or American Party was a recrudescence of the "Native American" hysteria, which had appeared, and which, unfortunately, still shows itself at intervals in our history. In its earlier manifestations the movement had been responsible for the burning of the Ursuline Convent at Charlestown, Massachusetts, in 1834 and again, in 1844, had led to serious anti-Catholic riots, culminating in the burning of two churches in Philadelphia. It is of interest, in this connection, to quote Abraham Lincoln's resolution presented at Springfield, Illinois, during the campaign of 1844 (June 12): "Resolved, that the guarantee of the rights of conscience as found in our Constitution is the most sacred and inviolable and one that belongs no less to the Catholic than the Protestant; and that all attempts to abridge or interfere with these rights either of Catholic or Protestant, directly or indirectly, have our decided disapprobation and shall have our most effective opposition."[1]

Despite the opposition of Lincoln and other high-minded leaders the movement grew, perhaps because of the very mystery of its procedure. The name Know-Nothing, it should be explained, was derived from the stereotyped answer "I don't know" of its adherents to questions about the movement. By 1852 the craze had reached the dignity,

[1] Nicolay and Hay, "Abraham Lincoln: A History," New York, 1886, vol. I, p. 235.

in numbers at any rate, of a political party. In the campaign of 1852, Franklin Pierce was attacked because he had labored long, but in vain, to have removed from the Constitution of his native State of New Hampshire a clause aimed at the exclusion of Catholics from public office. (This provision was finally repealed only in 1877). After the election of Pierce it was charged that the appointment of his Postmaster-General, James Campbell, of Philadelphia, was "dictated by the Pope." The Honorable Joseph R. Chandler, of Philadelphia, United States Minister to Naples, was another object of Know-Nothing attacks.

By devious methods the Know-Nothings also usurped the management of the Washington Monument at Washington, and, in an illegal meeting, ejected members of the Board of Managers who had served faithfully for years, including General Winfield Scott, Peter Force, W. W. Corcoran, the great benefactor of Washington, General Henderson and others. These men were not Catholics. As a result of this high-handed action, Congress refused to approve a proposed appropriation of $200,000 to finish the monument, and hence its completion was deferred until 1885. The different color of the stone, evident to this day, and which only great age will efface, is a constant reminder of the "patriotism" which dictated this action.

In the electoral campaigns of 1854, the Know-Nothings nominated candidates in several States, electing forty congressmen and the Governor of Massachusetts (Gardiner). In 1855, they returned Governors in New Hampshire, Connecticut and Rhode Island and repeated their successes in Massachusetts and New York. There were seventy-five Know-Nothings in the thirty-fifth Congress. This marked the high-water mark of the movement. The first check, strange to say, occurred in Virginia, which despite her attitude on slavery, in effect a denial of the equal rights of man, still maintained the doctrine of the guarantee of equal rights to all religions. Virginia stood fast for the consti-

tutional guarantees. Let us quote from that remarkable book of John S. Wise, "The End of An Era," one of the finest pieces of real literature growing out of the War:[2]

> In 1855, a great political contest occurred in Virginia. A faction known as the Know-Nothing Party, or American Party, had sprung up suddenly, and had triumphed in a number of the Northern States. It was a secret organization, with oaths and grips and passwords. Its rallying cry was that Americans should rule America. Incidental to this watchword was a real or fancied hostility to foreigners, particularly the Irish, and to the Catholic Church. Until it reached Virginia, it had been successful everywhere. Father Henry A. Wise believed in the teachings of George Washington that secret political organizations were dangerous to republican liberty and in the teachings of Thomas Jefferson that no man should be proscribed on account of his religion. * * * The result of the approaching conflict seemed exceedingly doubtful when he was chosen as the Democratic candidate for Governor of Virginia. * * * He accepted the nomination, and although, at the outset, the Know-Nothing Party had an enrolled majority of 10,000 of the entire voters of the State, he entered upon one of the most remarkable campaigns in Virginia politics, and after a brilliant canvass was elected by 10,000 majority. * * * The ignorant and vain had all been captured by the signs and grips and secret passwords of Knownothingism. * * * The rural votes gave Father his majority, especially in the splendid yeomanry of the Shenandoah Valley, among whom very few slaves were owned. They were the men who afterwards, drawn into the war to fight the slave-owners' battles, won with their valor the immortal fame of Stonewall Jackson.

It is of interest to note that Governor Wise was himself afterwards a hard-hitting general in the Confederate service.

The Know-Nothings were likewise denounced by Stephen A. Douglas, Lincoln's great rival, in a ringing speech at Philadelphia, delivered, fittingly, on July 4, 1854.[3] Lincoln's own attitude towards the movement is also clearly implied in his speech at Bloomington, Illinois, on May 29, 1856, in which, as reported by William C. Whitney, he said:[4]

[2] Wise, "The End of An Era," Boston, 1899, pp. 53-4, 56, 58.

[3] Rhodes, "History of the United States," New York, 1892-1919, vol. II, p. 61.

[4] Tarbell, "Life of Abraham Lincoln," New York, 1900, vol. II, p. 309.

> And if the safeguards to liberty are broken down, as is now attempted, when they have made things of all the free negroes, how long, think you, before they will begin to make things of poor white men? Be not deceived. Revolutions do not go backward. The founder of the Democratic Party declared that all men were created equal. His successor in the leadership has written the word "white" before "men," making it read, "all white men are created equal." Pray, will or may not the Know-Nothings, if they should get in power, add the word "Protestant," making it read "all Protestant white men?"

It is evident from what precedes that Lincoln, always mentally alert, clear-sighted and logical, saw the absolute identity, in principle, of the pro-slavery and the anti-Catholic agitations of those who would deny constitutional rights to Negroes and those who would deny them to Catholics. Equally, he must have reasoned, they sinned against the great cardinal principles for which he stood, both by personal conviction and as a staunch upholder of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. How firmly he believed in the constitutional guarantees, even to the extent of giving his life for them, is splendidly expressed in his Independence Hall speech at Philadelphia; his Lewiston speech of August 17, 1858;[5] his letter to Canisius of May 17, 1859,[6] and his letter to Pierce and others of April 6, 1859.[7] In ringing words he repeated in the Independence Hall speech (February 22, 1861) his willingness to die for the principles laid down in the Declaration of Independence, paralleling a similar phrase in the Lewiston speech:

> * * * It was not the mere matter of separation of the colonies from the motherland, but that sentiment in the Declaration of Independence which gave liberty not alone to the people of this country, but hope to all the world, for all future time. * * * This is the sentiment embodied in the Declaration of Independence. * * * If it (the country) cannot be saved upon that principle, it will be truly awful. But if this country cannot be saved without giving up that principle,

[5] Nicolay and Hay, vol. II, p. 157.
[6] Ibid, vol. II, p. 181.
[7] Ibid, vol. II, pp. 182-3.

> I was about to say I would rather be assassinated on this spot than surrender it. * * * I may * * * have said something indiscreet. But I have said nothing but what I am willing to live by, and, if it be the pleasure of Almighty God, to die by.[8]

In the campaign of 1860 which resulted in the election of Lincoln, Catholics divided according to their individual convictions. In the main, however, they avoided the bitterness of opinion that was current, carefully abstaining from stirring up the passions of others or getting excited themselves. Particularly was this true of their ecclesiastical leaders. Archbishop Hughes, of New York, wrote: "If, unhappily, an event which is sometimes alluded to as a possible contingency, namely a division of the country, should ever take place, the Catholics will have had no voluntary part in bringing about such a calamity." And Bishop Lynch, of Charleston, said after the war to Secretary Seward: "I am not conscious of ever having said or done anything to originate the war, to exacerbate it or to prolong it an hour."[9]

When hostilities broke out, Catholics, like other good citizens, sprang to the defense of their cause, North or South. Catholics of Irish blood from New York, from Massachusetts and from Illinois, and Catholics of German blood from Missouri and Wisconsin were early in the field for the Union, while their co-religionists from Louisiana and the Carolinas were soon in the thick of the fight for the Confederacy. Nor were supporters wanting in civil life.

But it was primarily on the battlefield that notable services were rendered by members of the Catholic Church. Both the Union and Confederate Armies had their "Irish" regiments, and while there is a too common loose use of "Irish" and "Catholic" as synonymous terms, nevertheless,

[8] Tarbell, "Life of Lincoln," vol. I, pp. 421-2.
[9] Shea, "History of the Catholic Church in the United States," vol. IV, p. 384.

it is undeniable that the majority of the men who made up the so-called "Irish" regiments were Catholics. Among these regiments were many which were unusually conspicuous for gallantry and fidelity on the battlefield; for example: the Ninth and Twenty-eighth Massachusetts; the Thirty-seventh (Irish Rifles), Sixty-third, Sixty-ninth, Eighty-eighth, One hundred and fortieth, One hundred and fifty-fifth, One hundred and sixty-fourth, One hundred and seventieth, One hundred and seventy-fifth and One hundred and eighty-second New York; the Ninth Connecticut; the Tenth New Hampshire; the Sixty-ninth and One hundred and sixteenth Pennsylvania; the Thirty-fifth Indiana; the Twenty-third and Ninetieth Illinois; the Twenty-eighth Michigan; the Fifth Minnesota; the Seventh Missouri; the Seventeenth Wisconsin and others.

Most of the leaders of these regiments became famous for their gallantry, notably Colonel (afterwards General) Patrick R. Guiney of the Ninth Massachusetts Regiment, father of the poetess, the late Louise Imogen Guiney; Colonel (afterwards General) St. Clair Mulholland of the One hundred and sixteenth Pennsylvania; Colonel Patrick O'Rorke of the One hundred and fortieth New York, killed at Little Round Top in the heroic defense of that critical point; Colonel O'Kane of the Sixtieth Pennsylvania, who likewise perished at Gettysburg; Colonel (afterwards General) Michael Corcoran, of the Sixty-ninth New York, and the "Corcoran Legion," composed of the One hundred and sixty-fourth, One hundred and eighty-second, One hundred and fifty-fifth, One hundred and seventieth and One hundred and seventy-fifth New York Regiments; General Thomas F. Meagher, of the New York Irish Brigade, composed of the Sixty-third, Sixty-ninth and Eighty-eighth New York, the Twenty-eighth Massachusetts and the One hundred and sixteenth Pennsylvania; Colonel James A. Mulligan of the Chicago Irish Brigade, composed of the Twenty-third and Ninetieth Illinois.

The New York Irish Brigade had a glorious record, distinguishing itself in many battles and losing, from first to last, over 4000 men killed or wounded, or more than were ever on its rolls at any one time. Let us quote that gallant Confederate, General George E. Pickett, as he describes to his wife[10] the assault of the Irish Brigade on Marye's Heights (Fredericksburg) on December 13, 1862: " * * * Your soldier's heart almost stood still as he watched those sons of Erin fearlessly rush to their death. The brilliant assault on Marye's Heights of their Irish Brigade was beyond description. Why * * * we forgot that they were fighting us, and cheer after cheer went up all along our lines. * * *" In connection with the Gettysburg struggle there occurred one of the most affecting scenes of the war, when the entire Irish Brigade received absolution from its chaplain, the Reverend William Corby, before entering the battle in which so many of them were to lay down their lives. The spot is now marked by a monument. At Fair Oaks, the Sunken Road at Antietam; Cold Harbor, where General Richard Byrne, former colonel of the Twenty-eighth Massachusetts, laid down his life; the Salient at Spottsylvania and the closing fight at Farmville, where General Thomas A. Smyth, former commander of the Brigade, was mortally wounded, the Irish Brigade played a worthy part.

The Chicago Irish Brigade of Colonel James A. Mulligan also made a splendid record. At the very beginning of the war, on September 1, 1861, it was sent forward from Jefferson City to reinforce Lexington against the advance of the Confederate General Price. Joined by the remnants of the retreating Union forces, the Brigade of 2800 men, was besieged in Lexington by Price with about 20,000.

[10] Pickett, "The Heart of a Soldier" (Letters of Gen. George E. Pickett), New York, 1913, p. 66. Cf. also Moore's "Rebellion Record," vol. I, p. 148 (documents).

"After fifty-two hours of gallant defense," say Nicolay and Hay,[11] "Mulligan's position became untenable. The reinforcements he had a right to expect did not come, his water cisterns were exhausted, the stench from dead animals burdened the air about his fort. Someone at length, without authority, displayed a white flag, and Price sent a note which asked, "Colonel, what has caused the cessation of the fight?" Mulligan's Irish wit was equal to the occasion, and he wrote on the back of it, "General, I hardly know, unless you have surrendered."

He later surrendered upon the advice of his officers. It was Mulligan who in July, 1864, mortally wounded at Leetown, cried to his men, who were trying to save him, "Lay me down and save the flag!" And Fite records[12] that the grateful and appreciative people of Chicago subscribed for a home for the widow of their heroic fellow-citizen.

But it must not be supposed that it was only in "Irish" regiments that Catholics fought. The rosters of many others offer abundant evidence of this. The same thing is true of the officers of Catholic faith.

Next to U. S. Grant, one of the most imposing figures on the Union side was the dashing General Philip H. Sheridan, "Fighting Phil," who entered the war as a captain, and emerged from the struggle as its greatest cavalry leader. He was afterwards Lieutenant-General and General of the United States Army. Brave, energetic, personally magnetic, a born soldier, a natural leader of men, his ride, on October 19, 1864, from Winchester to Cedar Creek, turning victory into defeat by his personality alone, has been immortalized in the poem by Thomas Buchanan Read. General Grant said of him:[13] "I believe Sheridan has no superior as a general, either living or dead, and perhaps not an equal * * *" Grant's opinion of him is further shown in a dispatch to President Lincoln, dated April 2, 1865:[14]

[11] "Abraham Lincoln," vol. IV, pp. 427-8.
[12] Fite, "Social and Industrial Conditions During the Civil War," New York, 1910, p. 288.
[13] Rhodes, "History of the United States," vol. VII, p. 120.
[14] Tremain, "Last Hours of Sheridan's Cavalry," New York, p. 93.

"* * * I have not yet heard from Sheridan, but I have an abiding faith that he is in the right place and at the right time." Even non-military opinion, unswayed, as Grant's might have been, by personal regard, supports his estimate. The historian, James Ford Rhodes, says,[15]

> Best of all, the North had developed four great generals, Grant, Sherman, Thomas, Sheridan, and in this respect was now superior to the South. In the death-grapple * * * Grant was to be matched against Lee, Sherman against Joseph E. Johnston * * * and with the exception of Lee and Johnston, no one in the Confederacy showed the same ability in the command of an independent army as Thomas, nor did any prove the equal of Sheridan, whose singular prowess must have made Lee bitterly regret the loss of his Stonewall Jackson.

This is high praise, indeed, but again Rhodes says,[16]

> "These achievements (of Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley) appealed to the popular imagination as Stonewall Jackson's had in 1862; but now it was the Northerners' turn to rejoice in a commander who, uniting dash and prudence, was giving them the long-wished-for but unexpected victories in the Shenandoah Valley—that famous graveyard of Northern hopes * * *" And again,[17] "* * * In Sherman and Sheridan he (Grant) had helpers on whom he could rely as if each were another self. Seeing things alike, they were in complete harmony with him; they comprehended his orders and carried them out in letter and spirit as did no other of his subordinates. Sherman's marching and fighting were now (1865) over, but Sheridan was to be to Grant a prop and a weapon such as Stonewall Jackson had been to Lee in his earlier campaigns."

There were other notable Catholic leaders in the war, including some who became converts during or after the struggle. Among the major-generals in the Federal service not hitherto mentioned were the following: W. S. Rosecrans, E. O. C. Ord, W. S. Harney, James A. Hardie, D. H. Rucker, R. O. Tyler, John Newton, A. W. Whipple, G. D. Ramsey, D. S. Stanley, S. D. Sturgis, H. J. Hunt, E. D. Keyes, J. G. Foster, M. K. Lawler, P. E. Connor, Thomas Ewing, Jr., T. Kilby Smith, T. A. Smyth, M. T. McMahon,

[15] Rhodes, "The Civil War," New York, 1917, p. 302.
[16] "The Civil War," p. 338.
[17] "Ibid," p. 430.

J. J. Byrne, Hugh Ewing and J. P. McIvor. Among the brigadier-generals not previously mentioned were M. D. Hardin, E. P. Scammon, James Shields, T. M. Vincent, M. R. Morgan, Charles McDougall (surgeon), L. P. Graham, C. P. Stone, Joseph Warren Revere and T. F. Sweeney. A glance at the lists of general officers in Pfister's "Statistical Record of the Armies of the United States"[18] yields also numerous names that are suggestive: Boyle, Brannan, Burke, De Courcy, Devin, Donnelly, Doran, Egan, Flynn, Gallagher, Kane, Kelly, Lynch, Mahan, Malloy, McGee, McGinnis, McGroarty, McLaughlin, McNary, McNulty, Mulcahy, Murphy, O'Brien, O'Dowd, Quinn, Rafferty, Reardon, Reilly, Ryan and Sullivan.

Of the foregoing list General Rosecrans was, perhaps, the most distinguished general, though all rendered services of importance. A prudent commander, personally courageous, he was not only a faithful soldier, but was also a true patriot. In 1863, according to Miss Tarbell'[19] when success in the war began to be despaired of, Horace Greeley, that stormy petrel of the whole period, began looking about for a possible candidate to replace Lincoln, and was attracted to General William Starke Rosecrans, at that moment the most successful general before the country. Greeley sent James R. Gilmore to interview Rosecrans, armed with letters, says Miss Tarbell, from all the prominent Republican leaders except Roscoe Conkling, Charles Sumner and Henry Wilson (to such an extent had they lost confidence in Lincoln!) Miss Tarbell goes on:

> If Mr. Gilmore found Rosecrans satisfactory, Greeley declared that he would force Lincoln to resign, put Hamlin in his place and compel the latter to give Rosecrans the command of the whole Army. His idea was, no doubt, that the war would then be finished promptly and Rosecrans would naturally be the candidate in 1864. Mr. Gilmore went on his mission. Rosecrans seemed to him to fulfill Mr. Greeley's ideas, and finally he laid the case before him. The General

[18] New York, 1883, p. 247 ff.
[19] "Life of Lincoln," vol. II, pp. 171-2.

> replied very promptly: "My place is here. The country gave me my education and has a right to my military services." He also declared that Greeley was wrong in his estimate of Lincoln, and that time would show it.

So this plot of the "scuttlers" went to naught because of the patriotism, good sense and freedom from vanity of Rosecrans.

Rosecrans was a convert to Catholicism, and was in a way responsible for his brother, afterwards Bishop Rosecrans, embracing the Faith.

Of the other generals mentioned, General James Shields distinguished himself by his gallantry in both the Mexican and Civil Wars, and had the unique experience of serving at different times as United States Senator from three States—Illinois, Minnesota and Missouri. During the first years of the war he was in command of an independent force in the Shenandoah Valley, and according to Mary Johnston, was "the best man they had in the Valley," the one Union leader Stonewall Jackson's "foot cavalry," with their fine contempt for "Mr. Commissary Banks," Frémont and the rest, respected as a fair and hard fighter.

General Henry J. Hunt, another of the list, was in command of the artillery of the Army of the Potomac, and particularly distinguished himself at Gettysburg. General Edward O. C. Ord was head of one wing of Grant's army in Mississippi, of an army corps before Vicksburg and Richmond, relieved General Butler as commander of the Army of the James and was "in at the death" at Appomattox. General John Newton served with distinction at Gaines' Mill, South Mountain, Antietam and Marye's Heights, succeeded to the command of the First Corps when Reynolds was killed at Gettysburg and also was in charge of a division in the Atlanta campaign. General David S. Stanley distinguished himself in most of the battles of the Western Army, commanding a corps under Sherman and Thomas in turn and being severely wounded at Franklin.

General John G. Foster distinguished himself in several expeditions in North Carolina, being head of that department during a large part of the war. General Michael R. Morgan, of the Commissary Department, served on Grant's staff and had charge of the feeding of Lee's troops after the surrender at Appomattox. General James A. Hardie, after distinguishing himself in active service, was assistant to Secretary of War Stanton and later assistant and acting Secretary of War under Grant. General Thomas A. Smyth, of Delaware, after a notable career under Sheridan and others, was mortally wounded at Farmville, being probably the last Union officer to be killed in the war. And let us not forget the gallant General Joseph Warren Revere, descendant of Paul Revere, a convert.

As might be expected, the Southern side also had its noteworthy Catholic soldiers. The most conspicuous was probably General P. G. T. Beauregard, the dashing Louisianian, who served brilliantly in the Mexican War and in the Confederate service directed the operations against Fort Sumter that opened the conflict between the North and the South, commanded at the first battle of Bull Run and subsequently distinguished himself at Shiloh in the defense of Charleston, at Drury's Bluff, at Petersburg and with Johnston's army before the surrender to Sherman. He was one of the most picturesque figures of the War.

Another great Southern general, by many placed on a level with Lee, Johnston, Jackson and A. P. Hill in the first group of Confederate leaders, was General James Longstreet, who became a Catholic after the war. He won fame by his work at the Second Battle of Bull Run, Antietam, Fredericksburg and in the West, where his timely arrival saved the day at Chickamauga. After the fighting was over he was one of the first of the Southern leaders to accept the result, loyally serving a reunited country.

The most striking naval exploits of the Confederacy were without question the destructive efforts of the "Ala-

bama." Outfitted in England, she cruised from August, 1862, until she was sunk by the "Kearsarge" in June, 1864, capturing about sixty-five American vessels and inflicting many millions of dollars of damage upon Northern shipping. Her commander throughout was Captain (later Admiral) Raphael Semmes, a Catholic.

In addition to General Beauregard and General Longstreet in the land service of the Confederacy, we find the following notable leaders who were Catholics: General William J. Hardee, noted for his bravery at Shiloh and for services at Murfreesboro', Chattanooga, the defense of Atlanta and in command at Savannah; General Lawrence O'Brien Branch, slain at Antietam; General John Adams, who fell at Franklin; General William Lewis Cabell; General Anderson (killed), father of Mary Anderson, the famous actress, later Madame de Navarro; General Albert Jenkins, mortally wounded near Dublin Depot, West Virginia; Generals S. A. M. Wood and Alpheus Baker, General Thomas Hardeman, Colonel William Miller Owen, Colonel John W. Mallet, who was in charge of the ordnance laboratories of the Confederacy, and others. One of the most gallant feats of arms on the Confederate side was the exploit of Major R. W. Dowling, "Dick Dowling," who with forty-two men held the Confederate fort at Sabine Pass against a Federal fleet, bearing 15,000 soldiers under General Franklin, who were about to invade Texas (September 8, 1863). For this achievement Major Dowling received a vote of thanks from the Confederate Congress.

Catholic fighting organizations were prominent in the Confederate Army as in the Federal. Notable among them were Hayes' Seventh Louisiana Regiment; Taylor's Brigade of Louisiana French; Wheat's Battalion ("The Tigers," or "The Irish Tartars," as Mary Johnston calls them in "The Long Roll") and others.

Among the Catholics who served the Confederacy in non-military capacities was Stephen R. Mallory, former

Senator from Florida, Secretary of the Navy in Jefferson Davis' cabinet, whom Wise[20] describes as "manly, frank and kind, one of the most popular members of the Confederate Cabinet." Catholics were also prominent in the Confederate Congress and in the State governments.

Armies are not made up of fighting men alone. It was but natural that where there were so many Catholic soldiers the chaplain should not be absent. Attending to both bodily and spiritual needs, he followed the troops—when, indeed, he did not make the charge with them. Father Corby, chaplain of the Irish Brigade, has already been mentioned, and the reader is referred to his interesting "Memoirs of Chaplain Life"[21] for an inspiring account of the chaplain's labors. Other notable chaplains on the Northern side were Father Louis A. Lambert, chaplain of the Eighteenth Illinois Regiment and later a journalist and opponent of Robert Ingersoll; Father Dunn, chaplain of the Ninetieth Illinois, a regiment which he had been mainly responsible for raising; Father John Ireland, the future archbishop, chaplain of the Fifth Minnesota; Mooney, Scully, Quinn, McMahon; and the Jesuit Fathers O'Reilly, Tissot, Ouilette and O'Hagan. On the Southern side, many priests served with the armies, under the direction of the Very Reverend Peter Whelan, of Savannah, general chaplain to the Catholics in the Confederate Army. Among them were Father Francis X. Leray (afterwards a bishop), of New Orleans, and Father Abram Ryan, the famous poet. Striking testimony of the unselfish efforts of the chaplains and the heroism of their daily lives is afforded by Dr. Mann's statement that Father Hamilton was the "only representative of the Christian religion who possessed enough of it" to visit the 30,000 men incarcerated in the dread prison-pen at Andersonville.

Heroic nuns also served as nurses in both armies, with-

[20] "End of an Era," p. 402.
[21] Notre Dame, Ind., 1869.

out distinction of allegiance. Devotion to duty without regard to consequences, by priests and nuns, was constantly repeated during the war. General William Lewis Cabell, a distinguished Confederate general and brave and dashing cavalry leader, became a Catholic as a result of his experiences in the hospital, when, wounded at Corinth, he was nursed back to health by the Sisters.

A fitting monument to the nursing Sisters of the Civil War is the Hospital of the Good Samaritan, Cincinnati. Formerly the United States Marine Hospital, it was purchased by two Protestant gentlemen, Joseph C. Butler and Lewis Washington, who presented it to the Sisters of Charity in honor of Sister Anthony, known as "the Ministering Angel of the Army of the Tennessee."[22] Walt Whitman, himself an unselfish minister to the sick and wounded, also bears testimony to the activities of the Sisters and their effect.[23]

The Sisters of Charity worked in both Union and Confederate hospitals, notably at Richmond, at Fortress Monroe, with McClellan's army in the field, Norfolk, New York, and at other points, to the number of 100 or more. About sixty Sisters of the Holy Cross, served under Mother Mary St. Angela, a cousin of James G. Blaine. The Sisters of Mercy had charge of hospitals at Beaufort (later moved to Newbern), North Carolina, Jefferson City, Missouri, and aboard the steamer "Empress," which received the wounded at Shiloh. The Sisters of Saint Joseph had a hospital at Harrisburg. The Sisters of Mercy had the unusual experience, in the hospitals at Helena and Little Rock, Arkansas, of attending both Union and Confederate wounded under both flags in turn, depending on which army for the time being controlled the territory in which the hospitals were located. The Sisters of Saint Joseph thought not

[22] Shea, "History of the Catholic Church in the United States," vol. IV, p. 554.
[23] "Century Magazine," vol. XIV, p. 830.

only of the soldier, but also of his orphan, establishing in 1864 a home in Philadelphia for the daughters of Union men who had perished. This is but an incomplete list of the activities of the Sisters. They were everywhere, and many people who were not Catholics came to respect and admire them for their noble, unselfish work, while some, like General Cabell, were won to the Church by the influence of their modest, self-sacrificing and heroic lives.

Among the song-writers and poets of the war there were a number of Catholic faith, particularly on the Southern side. The two great war lyrics of the Confederacy were without question "Dixie" and "The Bonnie Blue Flag," with "Maryland, My Maryland," closely following. Their authors were Catholics, Dan Emmett, Harry McCarthy and James Ryder Randall, respectively. It is worthy of note, in this connection, that Theodore O'Hara, another Catholic Southern poet, who served as an officer on the staff of the Confederate General Breckenridge, is best remembered for his "Bivouac of the Dead," written in commemoration of the Kentuckians who fell at Buena Vista in the Mexican War.

The great Catholic poets of the South, however, are Father Abram Ryan and Father John Banister Tabb. Father Ryan was a Confederate chaplain throughout the war and was later editor of the *Banner of the South*, in which he published his two great poems, dear to every Southern heart, "The Conquered Banner" and "The Sword of Robert Lee." John Banister Tabb was captain's clerk on a Confederate blockade-runner out of Wilmington, passing safely through the cordon of Federal ships more than twenty times. Converted in 1872, he became a priest, later serving as professor of English in Saint Charles College, Ellicott City, Maryland.

Naturally the position of the ecclesiastical leaders tended to appear to the country to reflect the attitude of Catholics in general. The most conspicuous members of

the Hierarchy were Archbishop Hughes, of New York, and Archbishop Purcell, of Cincinnati, and we find tribute paid to their loyal support of the Government by Rhodes,[24] Nicolay and Hay[25] and others. But the Church authorities were not content with mere official and personal support. Archbishop Hughes, especially, rendered services of great value in a diplomatic capacity. Most of the European powers (Russia being a notable exception) were rather sympathetic towards the Confederacy, and one of Lincoln's and Seward's great anxieties was to prevent recognition of the South, or worse still, active, open support of its efforts. Accordingly, Seward sent to Europe in an unofficial capacity "three representative and influential men to meet the impending danger of foreign intervention. He chose for this mission Archbishop Hughes, Bishop MacIlvaine[26] and Mr. Thurlow Weed."[27] Mr. Seward adds in a footnote that "Congress in 1776 appointed as one of the three Commissioners to Canada Reverend John Carroll, afterward Archbishop of Baltimore," apparently citing the appointment of Archbishop Carroll as a precedent. The mission was apparently successful. Archbishop Hughes, writing from Rome in March, 1862, to Secretary Seward, says: "A Roman gentleman told me a few days ago that the Southern Catholics who happened to be here hold me responsible for having prevented France and England from coming to the aid and support of their cause. My answer was: 'I hope the accusation is true!'"[28] At the same time efforts were being made to involve Spain in the war on the side of the Confederacy, but Bishop Michael Domenec, of Pittsburg, a native of Spain, visited Madrid in April, 1862, and after

[24] "History of the United States," vol. III, p. 372.
[25] "Abraham Lincoln," vol. VI, p. 325.
[26] Of the Protestant Episcopal Church.
[27] Seward, "The Diplomatic History of the War for the Union," Boston, 1884, pp. 6-7.
[28] For an interesting account of Hughes' mission, cf. "Catholic Historical Review," 1917-18, p. 336; also Hassard, "Life of John Hughes."

several conferences with the Queen of Spain and her ministers, succeeded in convincing them that it would be unwise for Spain to recognize the Confederacy.[29] The Government's appreciation of Archbishop Hughes' services was evidenced by well-meant, unofficial, but indiscreet intimations to the Vatican that this country would be gratified by the bestowal of some special honor upon him.

Anti-slavery advocates were also glad to utilize the Church's position against slavery in support of their cause. A pastoral letter of the Bishop of Bordeaux, France, dated Passion Week, 1862, was read in Congress by Thaddeus Stevens. This document emphasizes the unity of the human family as a dogma of the Church, stigmatizes black slavery as having its origin in a "cruel bargain condemned by Pius II in 1482, Paul III in 1557, Urban VIII in 1639, Benedict XIV in 1741 and Gregory XVI in 1839," and also quotes the bishops of the Province of Bordeaux, in council at La Rochelle in 1853, three years after the emancipation of slaves in the French possessions, as having made this declaration, approved by the Holy See: "The Catholic Church has ever deplored the cruel slavery in which a multitude of men are detained, to the great detriment of their souls, and has never ceased to labor to remedy so great a calamity." This letter was used widely in arousing anti-slavery sentiment at the North. At the same time, Orestes A. Brownson, the famous militant convert, was attacking secession and urging the abolition of slavery in his *Review*.

Many other Catholics were prominent among the supporters of the war in civilian life, notable being Francis Kernan,[30] of New York, a member of Congress, later Senator from New York. Another Congressman who placed the preservation of the Union above any other consideration was Michael C. Kerr, Democratic candidate for Congress

[29] Shea, "History of the Cath. Ch. in the U. S.," vol. IV, p. 442.
[30] Cf. Rhodes, "History of the U. S.," vol. VI, p. 433.

in Indiana, who joined with his opponent, Joseph E. McDonald, in August, 1864, to stop the plots against the Union by the "Sons of Liberty," who constituted a serious menace in certain sections.[31] An interesting case on the Confederate side is that of William Russell Smith, of Alabama, who after having served in Congress became a member of the Confederate Congress and was later president of the University of Alabama and judge of the Circuit Court of that State. A leading Know-Nothing before the War, he died a Catholic in 1896.

The end of the war found an embittered spirit rampant at the North, which perhaps was rather natural. The feeling found expression in the attempt to punish Jefferson Davis as a traitor. Horace Greeley, Cornelius Vanderbilt and others believed such action would be a political mistake, and hastened to prevent it. It is of some interest to note that the chief legal defender of Davis was a Catholic, Charles O'Conor, of New York, and that Richard Henry Clarke, still another Catholic, was associate counsel.

Another legal case of great interest was the so-called "Cummings Case," or "Test-Oath" case. In June, 1865, the Radical convention, meeting at St. Louis, adopted the so-called "Drake Constitution," one of the provisions of which, admittedly aimed at Archbishop Kenrick and the Catholic clergy, required all ministers of religion to take a stringent "test oath." Many priests were arrested for refusing to subscribe to it, and one of them, Father John A. Cummings, declined to give bail and was held for a test case, Attorney-General Speed and Reverdy Johnson being retained as his counsel. The question was finally carried on appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States, which in 1866 rendered a decision holding the "test oath" unconstitutional.[32]

The struggle of the Southern States to regain political

[31] Cf. Rhodes, op. cit., vol. V, p. 323.
[32] Shea, op. cit., vol. IV, pp. 611-12.

control, usurped by "carpet-baggers" and the like, was one of the features of Reconstruction times. Among the leaders in Louisiana were W. J. Behan and Judge Frank McGloin, who were prominent in the Citizens' movement of September, 1874, Judge McGloin later being lieutenant-colonel of the "Stonewall Battalion," which reëstablished home rule in Louisiana in 1876.

The most noteworthy Catholic in civil life throughout the Reconstruction period, however, was probably Charles O'Conor, of New York, previously mentioned in connection with the trial of Jefferson Davis. O'Conor was unquestionably one of the greatest lawyers the country has produced, and argued Tilden's case in the great Hayes-Tilden contest of 1876-7 before the Electoral Commission. Of him John Bigelow writes: "Mr. O'Conor was in many respects without a peer at the American bar. I once heard Governor Tilden say of him that he thought he had a more precise knowledge of the science of jurisprudence than any other person living of the English-speaking race." He was a thoroughly representative American.

With the decision in favor of Hayes, announced only two days before inauguration, March 4, 1877, the period of Reconstruction comes to an end. One of the first acts of the new administration was to withdraw Federal troops from all the Southern States. Thenceforward, the nation was to work toward a single, common end, and Catholics and Protestants, as in the stirring days of civil strife, were to march on, united by the bond of a common citizenship, a common Americanism, shoulder to shoulder along the pathway illumined by the sun of America's manifest destiny.

# CATHOLIC CO-OPERATION IN ESTABLISHING THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT

MARGARET B. DOWNING

CARLYLE in appraising the heroes of the world, mythical and of the flesh, has dismissed George Washington as "no immeasurable man." In one supremely important juncture in the affairs of the nation his sword had helped to carve, the first President of the United States appears as of heroic mould. In less than ten years, Washington's executive power joined to his inexhaustible patience and resourcefulness, had created a centre of population in what seemed an unpromising wilderness and had supplied all the requisites for a habitable seat of government. The annals of civilization offer but one parallel to this feat. St. Petersburg or Petrograd leaped into existence at the will of a despot, commanding an imperial treasury and a vast subservient people. President Washington was vested with limited authority. The financial support promised proved more of shadow than of substance, and he encountered every obstacle which could be reared by sectional jealousy and distrust, enhanced by private avarice and local ambitions.

When on July 12, 1790, the Chief Magistrate of the American nation wrote in his diary, " . . . and about noon to-day had two bills presented to me by the joint committees of Congress. The one an act establishing the temporary and permanent seat of the Government of the United States,"[1] the sigh of content which accompanied that entry is audible through the years. It marked the end of the long struggle which had engaged all the energy and courage with which the great patriot was amply endowed, that the nation with so splendid a future should be

provided with a capital city worthy of its destiny. That spectre so long threatening the union between North and South in the confederation of States, had in this question of the location of the seat of government, assumed a sinister aspect and for a period, it surpassed in intensity of feeling and bitterness of debate, the burning issues over slavery and the Funding Bill brought over from the Continental Congress and the Constitutional Convention.[2] From all this partisan strife, President Washington stood calmly aloof. This attitude combined with the profound respect he commanded from all political parties, finally dominated the situation and eventually he secured a practically unanimous approval of the selection of the Potomac site. Preeminently a commander of men, General Washington's example more than his authority influenced those under his control to the most complete performance of duty, and he blended divergent and discordant elements into perfect sympathy and coöperation in a manner which transcends all laudation.

The State of Virginia, for good and sufficient reasons, subsequently retroceded that portion of the Federal Territory contributed to realize the ambition of her noblest son. President Washington's selection of the Potomac site had, therefore, placed the seat of government as it lies to-day, on the former domain of the Catholic Barons of Baltimore, land which is hallowed as "the only home of religious freedom in the wide world." This same selection placed the larger and more important parts of the national city on estates which had been Catholic in ownership since they had passed from the Red Man. The American Capitoline Hill, crowned by splendid governmental buildings, marks the centre of "Cerne Abbey Manor," patented in 1670 by Thomas Notley, Catholic gentleman of Dorset, a friend and associate of Charles Calvert, third Baron of Baltimore, and from 1676-79, the Deputy Governor of the Province of Maryland. Governor Notley came of the noble

line of Sydenhams of Coombe,[4] and part of their estates included that once renowned seat of learning, Cerne Abbey, over which Aelfric the Grammarian had presided, and, which with forty other monasteries in Dorset and Gloucestershire, had been despoiled by Henry VIII.[5] A little less than a quarter of a century after the landing of the Ark and the Dove, this grant, purchased by Notley, had in 1662 been patented under the name of Duddington Manor and Pasture, by George Thompson and Thomas Gerrard.[6] The first was the son of John Thompson, a pious pilgrim on the Ark, who took out land in the company with Father Andrew White, S. J., the pioneer Catholic missioner of the Potomac region. Doctor Gerrard, the first "chirurgeon" in the province and lord of Saint Clement's Manor, is that stalwart figure always haled forth to prove that religious liberty was enforced by the laws of Maryland under the Catholic proprietaries, although it became a dead letter under their Protestant successors. A rigid and militant Catholic, Doctor Gerrard was fined forty pounds of tobacco for refusing to open the chapel adjoining his manor house, Bromley Hall at Saint Clement's, for the convenience of a minister of the Established Church of England.[7]

Governor Notley died on April 3, 1679, and by will executed on that day, he devised all this vast tract of what is now the City of Washington (its entire northeast and west sections, with generous slices of southeast and west areas, and extending into the northwest as far as the present Ninth and K Streets), to his godson and namesake, Notley Rozier. This heir was the son of Benjamin Rozier, a member of the Lord Proprietor's Council, and the grandson of Lady Charles Baltimore, consort of the third and last Catholic Baron. President Washington on March 29, 1791, invited all the owners of the land which he proposed to convert into the federal city to confer with him at the lodgings he had engaged at Suter's Tavern in Georgetown.[8] Notley Young, grandson of Notley Rozier, and Daniel Car-

roll of Duddington Manor, his great grandson, were among the original proprietors who responded. Other Catholics who held tracts within the prescribed area were Abraham and William Young of the same family as Notley, Overton, Carr and the Wheeler heirs. In the next alignment may be found the names of Dominic Lynch and Comfort Sands, who had recently acquired a large farm in the Duddington estate.[9] On March 30, the President makes another pertinent entry in his diary, " . . . the parties to whom I addressed myself yesterday evening . . . saw the propriety of my observations and, therefore, mutually agreed and entered into articles of surrender for public purposes one-half the land they severally possessed within the bounds . . . necessary for the city . . . This business being now happily ended" and again content peeps from the page, as the executive narrates that he at once mounted his horse, dined at Alexandria and reached Mount Vernon before evening closed in and where good wife Martha and a smoking hot supper awaited him.[10]

The terms under which these property owners parted with their patrimony may be inferred by the jubilant note in the letter which the Secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson, addressed to his chief: "The acquisition of ground is truly noble; considering that only twenty-five pounds an acre is to be paid for any grounds taken for the public, and the streets not counted, which will reduce it to about nineteen pounds per acre, I think very liberal reserves should be made for the public."[11] Daniel Carroll of Duddington, who held the more valuable portion of Cerne Abbey Manor, parted with the eminence which L'Enfant had already set apart as the one available site for the legislative halls, at a figure which made it a virtual gift to the federal city. All chroniclers of the early events in the founding of the federal city admit this cogent fact and also bear testimony that Mr. Carroll and his co-religionists never assumed an obstructive role after they had given their solemn promise

to the august Washington. In the manuscript volume of the "Proceedings of the Commissioners" in the office of the superintendent of Public Buildings and Grounds and which is the oldest record of these days, there is consoling evidence of their probity in the face of tremendous temptation. It may be seen there, that the President not only anticipated sympathy and aid from the Catholic manor lords and the minor property holders, but that with an innate sense of the solidarity of class, he relied upon them and not in vain, for certain invaluable services. When that extensive land owner who has come down the years as the "obstinate Mr. Burns" had dismissed the plea of the President to sell profitable tobacco fields at low figure, that a seat of government might be built, it was Daniel Carroll of Duddington and Notley Young who offered the French engineer, L'Enfant, the freedom of their estates to begin his surveying operations, to the end, as Washington wisely foresaw, that land owners along Rock Creek would soon come to terms if it was patent that sufficient land for the federal city could be purchased on the Anacostia River or Eastern Branch and down the Potomac, where Mr. Young's tracts of Duddington Pasture, Blue Plains and New Troy were located.[12]

Of the many forces which the great chieftain marshalled to his aid when with his land purchased, he set about the stupendous task of creating a city, what may be deemed the most potent? Without question, the most valuable aid which Washington received was that rendered by the French Catholic engineer, Pierre Charles L'Enfant. And the debt which the American executive owed his former *aide de camp,* friend and *protégé* is not the mere material obligation represented by the ground plan, though this created a city which is one of the loveliest the world has seen. The great liberator possessed spiritual and intellectual vision of an exalted order, but wealth of imagination was not among his gifts. A city meant massed blocks of

houses with taller rectangular buildings set along streets, mapped off with checker-board precision. Even Jefferson with advantages of foreign travel and familiarity with the splendors of Paris, Versailles and Potsdam, to the impatient protests of L'Enfant, harped continuously on the practical aspect of the ground plan of Babylon, evident in the City of Philadelphia.[13] It was the Frenchman's fiery zeal and his grim determination to perform his task grandly, that, as though a magician's wand, compelled the prudent and prosaic Washington to see the hills and forests as wide terraced boulevards, muddy streams and hopeless looking marshland transformed into leaping cataracts and sunken gardens, and a pomp of buildings lining majestic streets and avenues which had broken free from the mechanical thralldom fastened on every other American city. In golden words, L'Enfant painted a dream place, worthy of a nation whose destinies were not bounded by sixteen States, but only by the oceans which wash the continent, and of a people, not of a few hundred thousands, but of many hundreds of millions. Washington listened with admiration and respect when all others associated with him in this noble enterprise considered these dazzling descriptions the ravings of a madman.[14]

It has become a national habit to refer to the man who drew the ground plan of the Capital City as "the unfortunate L'Enfant." He was, it is true, denied all the earthly rewards implied by rich possessions and the comfort and dignity of lofty station, and he knew every humiliation of poverty and the loss of his accustomed station. But if the world still accepts the dictum of Richelieu and the numerous company who follow him, that "great designs and notable enterprises are to be judged only by their success," then history writes a verdict for L'Enfant which may well excite the envy of his critics. Years after his dust had been gathered into the bosom of kind mother earth, the day came which he had solemnly foretold, when

his work wrested from him violently and given into unworthy hands, would result in confusion and defeat. The nineteenth century had passed and in the dawn of the twentieth, those charged with civic responsibility saw with gloomy forebodings, the havoc wrought by the disintegration of L'Enfant's plan. Then came the joint action of the Commission of Fine Arts with the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, which turned the full glare of historic investigation on the flimsy argument which had caused the Frenchman's ruin. In January, 1902, a report signed by Augustus St. Gaudens, Frederick Law Olmsted and Charles F. McKim contains this ringing vindication of the great Catholic engineer:

> "The original plan of L'Enfant having withstood the test of a century has met our universal approbation. The departure from that plan is to be regretted and wherever possible will be remedied." [15]

The beneficent result of this investigation was the appointment of a permanent Commission for the City Beautiful and the City of Washington gradually goes forward towards the realization of Washington's ambition, founded on L'Enfant's dream.

For this marvelous piece of architectural engineering, the patriotic Frenchman received but little more than $2000. This paltry sum was proffered under such galling conditions [16] that for years he refused to accept it and but for the friendship and loyalty of his friend, Thomas Digges of Warburton Manor on the Potomac, he would have suffered for the bare necessaries of life.[17] No statue of L'Enfant adorns the public squares of the federal city, though they are filled with far less worthy subjects. No portrait of him hangs in its galleries. [18] Not a street, byway nor road bears his name, nor is his memory recalled by a public school or any other civic building. Yet so subtle are the ways of retributive justice, that not even the great

Washington is more firmly written into the annals of his name city.

The last days of L'Enfant, like those of the immortal Dante, were sad because he ate the bread of dependence and found it bitter. He had on the death of Thomas Digges of Warburton been hospitably received by a younger brother, William Dudley Digges of Chillum Castle Manor, more familiar as Green Hill, Maryland. Here he died on June 14, 1825, and was buried under an old tree where habitually he sat and brooded. After almost a century of forgetfulness, the American people awoke to the heavy obligation under which they rested because of the French engineer's achievement, and they offered as complete reparation as mortals may to one uplifted by the grandeur of genius and dignity of death beyond their plaudits or rewards. The remains of the illustrious engineer were by act of Congress removed from the neglected grave at Green Hill and after a solemn military procession, placed in the rotunda of the Capitol, an honor but rarely bestowed by the nation,[19] and thence committed again to earth in the Arlington Cemetery. M. Jusserand, the French ambassador and orator of the occasion, pointing to the marble shaft which a congressional appropriation had tardily provided for the man another Congress had contemptuously dismissed and left in want, said, "He has no need of this," and indicating the City of Washington lying fair and radiant in the afternoon sunshine beyond the river, "He has reared his own monument there."

Whatever sentiments the Catholic Church has inspired in Washington's successors in the highest office within the gift of the American people, his admiration of its potent moral force cannot be safely challenged, nor can the esteem and friendship in which he held so many of its members. He had selected an historically Catholic environment as the seat of the American Government and in the first difficult step towards accomplishing the task confided by the

"Residence Law" of July 16, 1790, he had obtained the loyal aid of the Manor lords of Cerne Abbey, Notley Young and Daniel Carroll of Duddington. Next in order must come the services received from the commissioners who finally negotiated the sale of the land and cleared the wilderness for the purposes of civilization. They were Thomas Johnson and Daniel Carroll of Maryland and Doctor David Stuart of Virginia. [20] Carroll was the only Catholic of the trio and, like Johnson, had taken a conspicuous part in national affairs,—in the Continental and United States Congresses and in the chaotic intervals after the victory of Yorktown. He is called "of Rock Creek" to distinguish him from other members of his family bearing the same name. The son of Daniel Carroll of Marlborough, immigrant of that branch which gave the first member to the American Hierarchy, Mr. Carroll had inherited from his mother, Eleanor Darnall of Woodyard, on the Potomac, a large estate which formed part of the suburban limits of the federal territory. His wife, then deceased, was Eleanor Carroll, a distant cousin of the older or Litterluna branch of the Carrolls, known in American annals as "of Carrollton" or Doughregan Manor. He was thus the proprietor of an important area of the land which he was to condemn for public purposes, a fact which leads the author of the most ambitious history which the District of Columbia has ever boasted to the naive remark,—"Although the owner of the northern portion of the District, and uncle of Daniel Carroll of Duddington, the largest individual owner of the land included in the limits of the city, such interests were evidently not looked upon in that day as disqualifying a man from performing a duty towards the public." [21]

Daniel Carroll might also have been written as the brother-in-law of Notley Young, second largest proprietor of the land, and that he was allied by ties of blood and friendship to a widening circle among the property holders,

all of which would add to Washington's appraisement of his integrity and sound judgment. This same historian, bearing witness to the exalted characters which every one of these first officials possessed, states: "that without a doubt, the personnel of the board (of commissioners) had much to do with the enterprise escaping shipwreck on the rocks, which were abundant enough in the course of an undertaking that was but meagrely supplied with funds and which had jealous and hostile critics at home and abroad." [22] And the last touch given these ideal public servants is that they were never in a single instance proven guilty of maladministration, though they were sometimes accused of favoring one section of the new city unduly against others. [23]

Daniel Carroll was in his sixty-first year and in fragile health when he accepted the burden laid upon him by General Washington, and he served longer and with more popular acclaim than any of his associates. He died in 1796 in the Rock Creek mansion, hallowed as the site of the chapel where his brother, the Reverend John Carroll, in 1774 began his public ministry (from this tiny shrine of Saint John's, appropriately designated "the Bethlehem of the American Church as truly as Baltimore is its Jerusalem.") [24] Father Carroll attended a parish the limits of which may be described as all of the District of Columbia, parts of Prince George, Montgomery and Frederick Counties in Maryland; and in Virginia from Alexandria up the course of the Potomac and inland to Culpeper and Stafford Counties.

Notley Young and Daniel Carroll of Duddington apart from the honorable role played among the original proprietors, were patriarchal figures in the subsequent history of the city, and deservedly are named among its co-founders. Mr. Young's manor house stood on the high bank of the river on what would be in the present topography, G Street, Southwest, near Ninth, and it was probably erected in the

early fifties of the eighteenth century. In the "Proceedings of the Provincial Assembly" during 1758, is recorded Ann Young's petition that she be allowed to divide Cerne Abbey Manor between her two sons, Charles Carroll of Carrollsburgh, so designated to distinguish him from his eminent cousin, the Signer, and Notley Young. She craves to be allowed to retain the mansion she had built on the Potomac, and where in the year of her petition she resided with her younger son, Notley Young. This Ann Young was the only child and heiress of Notley Rozier, and thus heiress of Thomas Notley's Potomac domain. She had married first Daniel Carroll, younger son of the immigrant of the Carrollton line, and on his death, Benjamin Young, a Commissioner of Crown Lands, who had come to the province in 1735. This venerable mansion of the Youngs withstood the ravages of time until twenty years ago and finally fell before the Juggernaut of progress along the river front. In the chapel adjoining the mansion, the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass was celebrated for the first time within the urban limits of the national city, probably about 1757, with the Reverend Thomas Digges of Melwood as celebrant.[25] Notley Young was twice married, first to Mary, daughter of Ignatius Digges of Melwood Manor, a branch of the family established at Warburton; and secondly, to Mary, daughter of Daniel Carroll of Marlborough, sister of the Archbishop. He was a generous benefactor of the Church and left among other gifts a square of ground, which his brother-in-law, Archbishop Carroll, devoted to Saint Peter's Church and to the first of God's Acres set apart in the new city. Mr. Young died in 1802 and his descendants are honorable among the citizens of Washington, especially in the professional class and in the ranks of the religious orders. Daniel Carroll of Duddington lived to an extreme old age and had witnessed the vicissitudes of the Capital during its first half century. He suffered many reverses of fortunes, and the fine patrimony which had come to him from

the Catholic adventurers in Lord Baltimore's Palatinate was swept away in the fever of speculation which had attacked the original proprietors so virulently. He was always admirable in the role of citizen and was the leader of every worthy movement. When the British under Admiral Cockburn had destroyed the legislative halls, it was Daniel Carroll of Duddington who led the subscriptions to erect the "Brick Capitol" and who acted so energetically that the structure was soon awaiting the homeless legislators.[26] His gifts to the Church would make a long list. One tract of ground he presented under the designation of "Cathedral Square" in the hope that ultimately his kinsman, the Archbishop, would transfer his episcopal see to that of the Government. This land is now the site of the Church of Saint Vincent de Paul and its parish houses.

Visitors to the National Capital rarely fail to notice that the Indian maid surmounting the dome of the Halls of Congress turns away from the city proper and smiles down on an unimportant section. Guide books and other descriptive volumes and all the "orators' puff" used by cicerones never fail to explain this eccentricity in a manner offensive to truth and to fame of the early Catholic proprietors of "Capitol Hill." It is asserted that because of the greed and unfair dealing of Carroll of Duddington and other owners of what had been Cerne Abbey Manor, prospective buyers were dismayed and sought lots in the western section. This explanation which has exhibited all the vitality historically ascribed to falsehood, serves a good purpose in opening a vista into devious by-ways of the national city's development, which are rarely trod except by the special investigator.

It is evident through a survey of L'Enfant's maps and general outlines to be studied in excellent copies in the War Department, that neither he nor his patron, General Washington, contemplated the fair, uncommercial city of to-day. Where rows of dwelling houses line the

streets which lead riverwards, both as to the Potomac and its Eastern branch, L'Enfant's maps show handsome shops and arcaded passages, stretching in every direction from the park about the Capitol building to the water, where from mammoth warehouses would sail forth ships bearing commerce to circle the globe. Though the French engineer early in the operations to build the city, had lost position among its officials, it is evident that his artistic prestige remained unimpaired. Doctor William Thornton, who drew the design for the legislative halls, placed his main portico to face the east, whence through its commerce would come the glory and sustenance of the young republic. The first builders, though another engineer conducted them, followed the line of the Frenchman's reasoning.

"The President's Palace" is built in the exact spot indicated on the original plan, so, too, the clustered private dwellings for the diplomatic corps and for the homes of those who were to move the vast machinery of the Government. These were all to the west, in the environs of Rock Creek and along the river in the direction of Georgetown. Business and commerce were to be confined to the east and south. But L'Enfant, though living for years among the American people, had not yet grasped their philosophy, nor their habit of building houses for business or habitation as it suited their convenience. Coming from a Bourbon monarchy where class lines were so strictly drawn, he could not foresee a condition when markets, printing shops, produce houses and book stores could locate at will, in residence sections, with no law to deter them. General Washington had shrewdly instructed his engineer to place the President's house at a good distance from the halls of Congress, to the end that the executive could be sure of some quiet hours and peace of mind. The business element, though Pennsylvania Avenue was partially under water and more bridges crossed it than streets, saw an opportunity in wedging in between these two objectives.

Cathedral of the Assumption, Baltimore

Long before either the west end or the eastern section developed, the mile between Congress and the President showed lively indications of prosperity. The Capital City went westward after the accepted decree of all urban centres. In Washington, this general tendency received momentum because the immediate purposes of the inhabitants demanded it. The price asked for land in the eastern section or the action of any individual proprietor, had not the remotest bearing on the subject. [27]

L'Enfant's unrealized dream of a commercial metropolis in the eastern part of the federal city, resulted in catastrophe for many who believed that the engineer possessed a knowledge of the ultimate intentions of the President and of Congress. For more than ten years a wild orgy of speculation prevailed; many fortunes were swept away and many excellent reputations suffered. For Robert Morris, the financier of the American Revolution, the venture in the federal city had the dismal sequel of years spent in the debtors' prison. One caught in the maelstrom was that James Barry whose name is held in such affectionate memory by two Americans who had climbed supreme heights of spiritual achievement, the Most Reverend John Carroll and Mother Elizabeth Seton. [28] Mr. Barry, who also enjoyed the friendship of the President, was one of the group of merchant princes of New York City who had ventured his splendid fortune on the development of the seat of Government. He had in 1795 erected warehouses along Greenleaf Point, or the Navy Yard section, and had sent his argosies laden with grain and tobacco to every port of the world. In behalf of his laborers and Catholics living thereabout he had in 1806 erected entirely at his own expense, Saint Mary's Chapel, the second church in the city, Saint Patrick's, established in 1794, being the first. Holy Trinity in Georgetown claims priority over both, but Georgetown was a separate corporation. [29]

In May, 1792, the commissioners advertised for a

superintendent to take over the building operations which were struggling but feebly against many obstacles. In response, there came in June of the same year, that upstanding figure in the story of Catholic participation in establishing the seat of Government, James Hoban. A depressing scene the federal city must have presented to this brilliant young Irish architect, for he had enjoyed fine educational advantages in Dublin and Paris, and he had been residing in Charleston, South Carolina, for several years. He presented letters of introduction to the President and to Thomas Jefferson from Colonel Henry Laurens. He appears to have been taken into the federal service from the moment of his arrival and given complete charge of the enterprise. Mr. Hoban was an admirable type of the exuberance and optimism of his race and his record would put to shame some recent champions of efficiency. Arriving in the middle of June, he became the superintendent "of all building operations and such work of the kind as may be in operation, for 300 guineas a year," [30] in the verbiage of his contract. He at once entered the competition for the President's house, secured the award, began operations in August, and in October was ready to lay the corner stone. There is a legend told in connection with Hoban's design which is as trustworthy as that of the Indian maid on the Capitol dome. This runs that the young Irishman had taken the palace of the Duke of Leinster in Dublin as his model. Hoban was a red-blooded lover of his own land and he had departed from it in protest of the actions of the British nobles who controlled it. Nothing is less probable than that he cared to perpetuate a bitter memory of his Dublin student days. Besides, the resemblance is shadowy at the best, a mere suggestion, and that because Hoban drew his house with wings and only the central portion has been built. [31] Had the whole structure been reared even the superficial semblance would have been obliterated. He was an unusu-

ally gifted architect and his plan was as original as one of purely classical outline can be so described.

Hoban remained in the service of the federal Government from his coming in 1792 until his death, forty years later. He rendered supremely valuable services in the actual building of the Capitol and was associated with all the architects who labored on the Halls of Congress, in addition to the arduous labors required by his contract. Thus, being an honorable and high-minded architect, he deemed it in the line of his duty to take over the plans for the legislative halls drawn by Doctor William Thornton, but which that versatile genius was not sufficiently equipped in his profession to prepare for builders and contractors. The delicate and poetic charm of Doctor Thornton's design had enkindled the utmost enthusiasm in Washington and Jefferson, and even in the more business-like commissioners. But this noble building which has inspired the admiration of millions of people must have remained a beautiful picture, but for the painstaking effort of Hoban, Hallet and a staff of more experienced craftsmen.[32] Hoban became a friend as well as an associate of Thornton, a union which had the happiest result. All that is of permanent beauty in the early city is due to Thornton and Hoban and to the men like Latrobe whom they selected as assistants. Those early buildings which display so vividly the magnificence of L'Enfant's ground plan, may be ascribed to their efforts, the majestic Capitol, Treasury and Patent Office, the fine simplicity of the White House, the lovely classic temple built as a *Hotel de Ville*, now serving as the District of Columbia Courts of Justice. Except the Library of Congress and the Railroad Terminal and a few fine structures planned since 1902 by the Commission of the City Beautiful, what has been built in the interval comparable to the work wrought in the first quarter of a century? James Hoban may be esteemed as a founder of the oldest Catholic church there, Saint Patrick's, which he attended during his

long and useful life, and where his son, grandson and great-grandson, all bearing his honored name, have succeeded him. He organized the first militia in the District of Columbia, and it became his pleasant duty to lead his artillery forth to escort the retiring President through the confines of the federal territory on his journey to Mount Vernon. He was tireless in civic activities and led every notable enterprise in the building of hotels, markets, private dwellings, besides contributing part of his time to the improvement of the streets and the inadequate water supply. He was the architect of the "Brick Capitol" and finally in 1816 became superintendent of the rebuilding of the one destroyed by the British.

By Act of Congress passed on May 2, 1802, the governmental seat was incorporated and the City of Washington becomes a familiar geographical term. President Jefferson appointed as the first mayor, Judge Robert Brent of Virginia, nephew of Archbishop Carroll and of the Commissioner, who was residing in the Notley Young mansion, described by an early British visitor, Augustus Foster, as one of the "only three homes of gentlemen in the radius of the new city." [33] Daniel Carroll of Duddington occupied another, and John Taylor the third. Judge Brent served for ten years as mayor, and when the position became elective he led the Jeffersonian forces against the Federal, with Daniel C. Rapine as banner bearer. Both men secured the identical number of ballots and drew lots for the honor, the result being in favor of Rapine. [34] This first mayor was an imposing personage and filled many important posts. Besides being mayor for ten years, he was judge of the orphans' court, justice for Washington County, paymaster-general of the Army, school trustee and president of the Patriotic Bank.

Another Catholic mayor during the city's formative days was Thomas Carbery. His name is fateful, since one bearing it played an important initiatory part in bringing

the National Capital to the banks of the Potomac. Colonel Henry Carbery, uncle of the mayor, was the commander of those revolutionary troops who conceived the strange notion that Congress should redeem its promise to pay for their services. To refresh its memory and to gain their payment these malcontents bore down on the legislators in Philadelphia, made rough remarks and threatened them with guns. This menace started Congress on its Odyssey, from which it did not desist until the passing of the Residence Law. President Washington calls these mutineers, "recruits and soldiers of a day, who had not borne the heat and burden of the war." [35] *Quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus.* Henry Carbery served in Hartley's Continental Regiment from the inception of the Revolutionary War, received a captain's commission on November 30, 1778, was transferred with the rank of colonel to the Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment, and being wounded in 1781 was retired and entered the civil service of the Continental Congress. [36] Many of the mutineers who enrolled under Carbery boasted records as lengthy and honorable.

Thomas Carbery was mayor of the corporation of Washington, from 1822-24, but his public services antedate those years by many, and follow it until his death in 1863. He was the third generation of a staunch Irish family which had located in St. Mary's County, Maryland. His father, whom he describes as living and dying in full communion with the Catholic Church, was a Georgetown contractor, who had furnished all the heavy timber for the floors and ceilings of the federal buildings. [37] It was his sister, Mrs. Ann Mattingly, whose miraculous cure through the intercession of Prince von Hohenlohe is part of the pious records of the city. The house of the miracle was a substantial edifice, the site of which is now covered by the Memorial Continental Hall of the Daughters of the American Revolution. Mr. Carbery's summer home, purchased from the

estate of Daniel Carroll of Rock Creek, was built in the fine wooded park, wherein is now situated the Walter Reed General Hospital.

With the arrival of Guiseppe Franzoni and the artisans in his company during the Spring of 1806, another stirring chapter of Catholic coöperation is written into the annals of the national city. Benjamin Henry Latrobe, one of the eminent associates of Thornton and Hoban, though not a Catholic, was deeply permeated with love and admiration of Catholic art. After months of persistent effort, he obtained permission from President Jefferson, to seek in that home of true art, Italy, sculptors, artists and wood carvers who could transform the crude, rough interior of the Capitol into something worthy of its noble outlines. Mr. Latrobe sought to engage Canova, but the vogue of that master had reached its apex, and more years than were allotted him had already been promised to various patrons of art in Venice, Florence and Rome. The great sculptor, however, was sympathetic and secured for the struggling young republic his own kinsman and assistant, Franzoni, and at a figure far below that obtainable in Europe. For eight years, the sculptor and his workmen wrought diligently and the Capitol within was assuming a grace and loveliness seen in brief glimpses in early newspaper descriptions and in the first speeches of Webster, Clay, and other silver-tongued orators. When Admiral Cockburn so wantonly destroyed the halls of Congress, all of Franzoni's labors perished, except that exquisite bronze above the Speaker's desk and the fine clock in Statuary Hall. But these immigrants from a land where God and His revealed religion are accepted reverently and with unshaken faith, brought with them something beyond the reach of the ruthless Briton. They held a sense of beauty, the most beneficent of divine gifts, which had been bestowed except that of faith. To their influence may be traced the first training of a choir and organ music in the Washington

churches and the uplifting of the famous Marine Band from a fife and drum affair to its proud position among the musical organizations of the country. There are descendants of Franzoni's artisans to the fourth generation who are members of the Marine Band at the present time. At the instance of the gentle Italian, Saint Peter's Church was built and he performed a noble part in alleviating physical sufferings resulting from the unfriendly climate, lack of medical attention and inadequate housing facilities. An honorable part did these Italians play in building the federal city, and equally honorable though humbler, was that of the Irish laborers who dug the streets and laid sure and sound the foundations of the public edifices.

Benjamin Franklin has made the wise remark, that the education of the child begins with that of his grandparents. To understand entirely the courage, high principles and inflexible integrity of the Catholics who stand beside the august Washington as co-founders of his name city, it is necessary to study the generations forged on the anvil of civil and religious persecution and the most humiliating disqualifications. Yet despite all these, the members of the prescribed Faith had reached lofty heights in the esteem of their associates and they had prospered in the material sense. A writer who had searched the annals of time to discover wherein lay the difference between the pagan type and the Christian ideal of citizenship, perhaps gives the key which unlocks this problem:

> Human societies are born and live and die upon the earth, where they have accomplished their destinies. But they contain not the whole man. After his engagement to society, there still remains in him the more noble part of his nature, those high faculties by which he elevates himself to God, to a future life and to the unknown blessings of an invisible world. Each individual has a separate and distinct existence, is endowed with immortality and has a higher destiny than that of states.[38]

The Catholics who bore aloft the principles of justice

upon which the Province of Maryland was founded were worthily succeeded by those who aided Washington in establishing the seat of Government and by those who have helped and are still helping every one of his successors. That they have felt a higher destiny than that of creating a nation and its capital has lent greater strength and purpose to their labors.

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3. Bancroft. "History of the United States." Vol. I, p. 247 et seq. Boston, 1839.

4. Hutchins. "History of Dorset." Vol. II, p. 706. Westminster, 1868.

5. Dugdale. "Monasticon Anglicanum." London, 1813; White. "New Studies of Aelfric," New York, 1898.

6. United States vs. Martin F. Morris et al. Potomac Flats Case Record, Vol. VI, contains an exhaustive study of the patents secured by Thompson and Gerrard, afterwards acquired by Notley, also Notley's will, which is the key to all clear titles in the Capitol Hill section of Washington City.

7. "Maryland Archives." Provincial Court Proceedings, 1642, pp. 119 et seq.

8. Suter's Tavern, a frame structure located on what is now Wisconsin Avenue in Georgetown, near the terminus of the Virginia ferry.

9. Christian Hines, one of the first historians of the Federal City, says Lynch and Sands purchased from Daniel Carroll of Duddington, a farm leased for some years previously, by that Thomas Jenkins whose name appears on all the documents pertaining to the erection of the new city. In Washington's Letter Book, Vol. XI, may be found this extract of a letter addressed to Major L'Enfant on April 4, 1791: " . . . the seat of Government is to be built on lands lying between Rock Creek to the Potomac and Eastern Branch, thence including the flat, back of Jenkins' Hill." L'Enfant in his first report to the President gives an enthusiastic description of "Jenkins' Eminence" and states that he has selected it for the Halls of Congress, the ideal spot since it stands "ready for him like a pedestal waiting for a monument." This report is in the District of Columbia Archives in the office of the superintendent of Public Grounds and Buildings. "Jenkins' Hill" makes an earlier appearance than these official papers of Washington and his engineer, when in 1784, the Reverend John Carroll in a chatty letter to his English superior narrates that his young kinsman, Daniel Carroll of Duddington, had proffered it as the site of the new college which was then contemplated and which now stands majestically on the river at the end of Thirty-sixth Street, Georgetown. It was, however, refused by the founder of the college on the plea that it was too far back in the woods to make a prosperous boarding school for boys. See Reverend Edward I. Devitt's "Old Georgetown Days," in "Records" of Columbia Historical Society. Vol. XII, p. 6.

10. "Diary of George Washington." Ibid.

11. Jefferson Papers. Series 1, Vol. IV, No. 167.

12. Ibid. Series 4, Vol I, p. 121.

13-14-15-16. United States Historical Society "Records and

Studies," Vol. XIV, pp. 112 et seq., contains a synopsis of the priceless treasures in the collection of original letters, papers, maps and other relics of Major L'Enfant, bequeathed to the Library of Congress and not yet indexed or arranged for general study. L'Enfant retained every important letter which he had ever received, hence there are many from Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton and others which had not yet been consulted by investigators of this unhappy episode concerning the French engineer's employment and dismissal from the public service. L'Enfant also had a habit for which the generations after him should feel profoundly grateful. He kept a copy of every letter written in reply to those received and of those of importance which he wrote on his own initiative. From this mass of documentary evidence, it is obvious that President Washington's austere nature would not have permitted him to condone the repeated acts of insubordination because of his engineer's superb equipment for the work. But he would have alleviated L'Enfant's harsh lot, had even five years been added to his life. There can be no doubt that Washington's calm mediation would have ultimately smoothed the way for L'Enfant's return to the federal employment and to his proper remuneration for the splendid ground plan. Eminently a just man, the first President must have recognized that he should blame himself for much of the excitable and arrogant Frenchman's conduct. Washington had retained L'Enfant, had consulted with him and instructed him about the plans for the federal city, months before he had selected the commissioners to whom he entrusted the execution of these plans. Remembering L'Enfant's training under the Bourbon monarchy of France, his attitude towards the commissioners and other officials who began to order him about, is readily comprehended. He deemed himself in the confidence of the President and his personal appointee, answerable to none other. He had, moreover, the haughty temper which is invariably the concomitant of genius and he was impatient almost to violence with mediocrity. M. Jules Jean Jusserand shows this with clarity and force in those chapters on L'Enfant to be found in "Companions in Arms." Mr. Glenn Brown produces similar proof in dealing with the architects and engineers of the federal city, and Mr. Bryan in the "History of the National Capital" adds convincing evidence of the same kind. Grouping all these authorities with the unassailable proof found in the Morgan collection, L'Enfant's entire procedure becomes a protest against betraying the intentions of Washington towards the Capital City of the future nation, and as loyal and persistent effort to compel its projectors to build an urban centre grand and beautiful enough to sustain even the great name down the generations.

17. The Digges of Warburton have an honorable record in Catholic activities from the immigrant, Sir Edward Digges, Catholic governor of Virginia, and the last appointee of the Stuarts, who was the son of Sir Dudley Digges of Chillum Castle, Kent, and master of Rolls under Charles I. William Digges, his son, took over Warburton Manor in 1657 and was the gallant defender of St. Mary's City, when it was beseiged by the Protestant army. The proprietor of Warburton Manor in George Washington's day was Thomas Digges, his close personal friend, who acted as his secret agent in London just after the close of the Revolutionary War. Warburton

was on the Maryland side of the Potomac, directly opposite Mount Vernon, and is the site of Fort Washington. A charming description may be read in Irving's "Life of Washington" of social intercourse on the river and of the frequent going back and forth of the barges of General Washington and of Mr. Digges, bearing the members of the families to dinings and tea parties. Thomas Digges knew the gallant French officer. Major L'Enfant was a frequent and welcome guest at Mount Vernon and his chivalrous nature could not endure the sad spectacle of the "friend of his friend" in penury. For more than eight years, L'Enfant was a pensioner on the Digges family.

18. It may be said in extenuation, that no authentic portrait of L'Enfant is known to exist, though this does not explain why his name has been excluded from streets or buildings, unless it be a fear of improper orthography and pronunciation. All the early accounts of the visits of the French engineer to the site of the National Capital have him as "Major Longfont," or "Loinfont."

19. Morgan. "Records" of the Columbia Historical Society, Vol. XIII, p. 119. Dr. Morgan, donor of the L'Enfant and Washington papers heretofore described, cites the names of those similarly honored—Lincoln, Thaddeus Stevens, Salmon P. Chase, Charles Sumner, James A. Garfield, John A. Logan, William McKinley. Since Pierre Charles L'Enfant was rendered the supreme honor, the "unknown soldier" from the battle fields of Europe has lain beneath the dome.

20. Commissioners' Proceedings, Vol. I, p. 1. Municipal Building, Washington, D. C., contains President Washington's autograph proclamation: "Know ye by these presents . . . that reposing special trust and confidence in the integrity, skill and diligence of Thomas Johnson and Daniel Carroll of Maryland and David Stuart of Virginia, I do thereby appoint them Commissioners of the District of Territory accepted as the permanent seat of the Government of the United States."

21. Bryan. "History of the National Capital." Vol. I, p. 122.

22. Bryan. Ibid., pp. 122-23.

23. Bryan. Ibid., p. 256.

24. From a sermon preached by the Right Reverend Thomas O'Gorman, late Bishop of Sioux Falls, North Dakota, then professor of Church History at the Catholic University of America, May 11, 1893, on the laying of the corner stone of the new Church of Saint John at Forest Glen, Maryland.

25. No records of the first missionary labors along the Potomac are known to exist except in scattered and inadequate fragments in old letters, bibles and family papers, which are difficult of access. Nothing is more illuminative of this than the fact that the most diligent biographer of the Most Reverend John Carroll cannot state with absolute accuracy where he was baptized. It is surmised, Boone's chapel, since that was the shrine most adjacent to his parents' home in Marlborough. But officially this most important statistic in the history of the American Hierarchy is missing. The Reverend Thomas Hughes, S. J., in his recent relation of the labors of members of the Society of Jesus in this part of the eighteenth century and along the Potomac, musters a few names and dates, but nothing of first import. He, however, gives high praise to the Reverend Thomas

Digges of Melwood, for zeal, piety, and every priestly quality, during the sad interim for the order, its suppression, before this event and after the restoration. Father Digges died in 1804, and his funeral oration was preached at Melwood by Bishop Carroll, an interesting conjunction of the first and second parochial priests of the National Capital. Father Digges appears in the memoirs of Duke de la Rochefaucould-Liancourt, who was entertained at the Manor in 1802, and who speaks eloquently of this learned and simply hospitable Jesuit, living in the wilderness, though worthy to lecture at the lyceums.

26. In the manuscript record book in the possession of Mrs. Frederick L. Moore of Washington City may be found the names of all the subscribers to the stock of the "Brick Capitol." Daniel Carroll of Duddington was chairman and held the heaviest share, and after him many other prominent Catholics had affixed their names—Charles Carroll of Bellevue, brother of Daniel; James Young, son of Notley; Robert, Daniel Carroll and William Brent, nephews of the Archbishop and of the commissioner; James D. Barry, William Dudley Digges, Nicholas L. Queen, Griffith Coombe, John Coyle and Frederick May.

27. Columbia Historical Society "Records." Vol. VII, pp. 104 et seq. This debate on the thesis, "Why the City Went Westward," was argued by Glenn Brown, author of the "History of the United States Capitol"; Wilhelmus B. Bryan, author of "The History of the National Capital"; Doctor James Dudley Morgan, greatgrandson of Daniel Carroll of Duddington, and in possession of many original papers pertaining to this phase of the federal city's development, and Allen C. Clark, author of many sketches on the mayors of Washington and other important episodes of history, published by the Historical Association.

28. United States Historical Society "Records and Studies." Vol. XV, pp. 45 et seq., contains an extensive biographical sketch of James Barry and his wife, Joanna Gould Barry of Cork, Ireland, who landed in New York about 1786, and gives references in the Gilmary Shea works of their friendship and assistance to the first Bishop of the United States, and in Mgr. Seton's "Memoir and Letters of Elizabeth Seton" to their charity and affection for the intrepid founder of the Daughters of St. Vincent de Paul in this country.

29. Holy Trinity Church in Georgetown was founded about 1787 and was an established parish with a register which is regarded as the first vital statistics of the District of Columbia, before Father Caffrey arrived in Washington to found the congregation of Saint Patrick's.

30. Brown. "History of the Capitol of the United States," Vol. I, pp. 95 et seq. Washington, D. C., 1900.

31. "Commissioners' Letter Book." July 19, 1792. Municipal Building, Washington, D. C.

32. Bryan, Ibid. Vol. I, pp. 200 et seq.

33. Foster, unpublished manuscript of a British diplomat (Augustus Foster) quoted in *Quarterly Review,* 1841, and by Varnum in "Washington Sketch Book," 1854.

34. Washington *Intelligencer,* June 9, 1812.

35. Sparks, "Letter Book of George Washington." June 24, 1783, Vol. VIII, pp. 545 et seq.

36. War Department Records. Hartley's "Continental Regiments of Pennsylvania" in 1777-83.
37. Columbia Historical Society "Records." Mayors of the Corporation of Washington, Thomas Carbery. Vol. XIX, pp. 61 et seq.
38. Guizot, "History of Civilization in Europe." P. 21, New York, 1885.

# CATHOLIC NEW ENGLAND

WILLARD DE LUE

## I.—THE DISTINCTIVENESS OF PURITAN HISTORY

THE story of the transition which has made New England, the ancient stronghold of Puritanism, a present stronghold of Catholicism is one so unusual that it can be understood only when told with the historical backgrounds in clear view. Progress, being a relative thing, a moving forward or upward from one place or condition to another, can be measured only when we compute also the height of the hills and the depth of the valleys that have been traversed in the course of the journey. But in the case of the Catholic progress in New England this difficulty faces us at the outset: the historical hills and valleys of these old Puritan settlements are known to few of those who reside beyond their limits. To the man from the great Middle West, viewing them for a first time, they are as different from the history which he knows as is the rugged New England landscape from that which has surrounded him through life; as dissimilar to the high sierras of the Pacific as were the stern Puritans from the gentle padres whose spirit still lingers in the new West.

And yet, it is not altogether the character of New England's history that is perplexing, but rather the fact that she has a history. Much of America has, comparatively, none. The life of its institutions is almost compassed by the memories of living men. When the Mission of San Francisco was established where the great city of the Pacific now stands, New England could look back 150 years. When Chicago was a military post, St. Louis a frontier town of perhaps 1000 population, Cincinnati a puny settlement on the bank of a river which had yet to become

a great highway of commerce, and when many of our great mid-western cities were not even dreamed of, New England possessed an Anglo-Celtic Protestant civilization, with its own institutions, its own traditions, two centuries old. No boom-towns here; no rushing in of men of diverse creeds as common brothers in adventure. No period here when faith or family tree was left unquestioned. Here, when Catholics first went in numbers, trade was taken, money was taken, social positions were taken. The tree of Puritanism had pushed its roots deeply into the soil, was sapping its full fertility and choking the newer growths. Garden plots were guarded each by a thorny hedge, fair lanes were marked with trespass warnings. Puritanism was ascendant.

Conditions such as existed here, the greater part of America never knew. Because of their peculiar religious and geographic origins, even the other original colonies knew them only to a lesser extent. And so the story which we have to tell is one of constant conflict with this old and strongly-intrenched civilization. And until the character of that civilization is understood, the story of New England's transition must remain unappreciated.

## II.—The Building of the Barriers

The barriers which the first Catholic settlers found raised against them were of two types: economic, grown up from the long priority of Puritan occupation, and social, which were in part offshoots of the economic structure but more especially the result of a long-standing religious intolerance. Indeed, as we probe deeper, we will find that religious bigotry was the foundation stone of every barrier that was thrown up here; for it was hatred of things Catholic that brought the Puritan to these shores, and it was that continued intolerance that shaped the religious, social and political structures of the Puritan commonwealth.

Puritanism was a movement designed to "purify" the Anglican Church of certain practices which, to the Calvinistic tastes of the purifiers, smacked too much of Rome. They saw the work of the Reformation being undone and decided that these "Popish" practices must be abolished. And when Laud, Bishop of London, and his fellow prelates of the English Church, refused to wash themselves in Puritanical soap, and, in their turn, purged their congregations of the malcontents, the Puritans clambered aboard a fleet of vessels, steered for Massachusetts Bay, and, in 1630, established here churches after a pattern of their own.

They had, moreover, a still greater care upon their willing shoulders. Not content with reforming the Reformation, they must, in the words of their remarkable leader, John Winthrop, "raise up a Bulworke against the Kingdome of AnteChrist wch the Jesuites labour to reare up in those parts," i. e., America. They would throw themselves into the struggle that had begun a few years earlier between England and France, Protestant and Catholic, in the New World. They looked upon themselves as the chosen instruments of the Almighty to check the spread of the Catholic religion in America.

Moved by this spirit, the Puritans sought by every means within their reach to keep themselves free from Catholics and Catholicism, both of the genuine brand and of the veneer of Anglican ritualism. Puritan Church and Puritan State were one, with the clergy ever dominant. Civil magistrates even deferred to the judgments of the ministers in the trials of offenders. Membership in the churches was a test of fitness for citizenship. "There was no choice but to remain politically a cipher or embrace, or pretend to embrace, the extremest dogmas of Calvinism."

Scarcely had this harsh theocracy been established, when dark tidings came out of the Maine woods of a Jesuit, Gabriel Druillettes, who had gone from the mission stations

on the St. Lawrence, in New France, to minister to the Indians of the Abenakis villages of the Kennebec River; and of Capuchin friars from Acadia (Nova Scotia) who were laboring on the Penobscot. To meet what they believed to be a threatened assault upon Calvinism, a law was passed (May 26, 1647), declaring "yt no Jesuite or spiritual or ecclesiasticall pson, (as they are tearmed,) ordained by ye authority of ye pope or sea of Rome" should come into territory claimed by the Puritans under pain of banishment. Should a priest return after being ejected "he shall, upon lawfull tryall & conviction, be put to death. . . ."

Puritanism, with its narrow vision, was unable to see that these very priests against whom it poured out its blind hatred were even then contributing to the progress and welfare of the English colonies in America.

> When we look for the results of these missions, says the Protestant historian, Francis Parkman, himself a clergyman, we soon become aware that the influence of the French and the Jesuits extended far beyond their circle of converts. It eventually modified and softened the manners of the unconverted tribes. In the wars of the next century we do not find those examples of diabolical atrocity with which the earlier annals are crowded. . . . It was to French priests and colonists . . . that the change is chiefly to be ascribed.

Let us emphasize this point. It was the French Catholics, chiefly the priests, who were always in the forefront of civilization, rather than the English Puritans, who exercised this modifying influence upon the savage tribes and freed the colonists from the worst horrors of Indian warfare. We can well believe that contact of the Red Men with the Puritans had anything but a softening effect, for with few exceptions, the story of Puritan dealings with the Indians is one of white savagery and white treachery. In the earliest New England Indian war the Pequot tribe of Connecticut was practically exterminated. Puritan troops stood by while their Indian allies, the Mohegans, tore a captive to pieces and roasted and ate his flesh. And in the

succeeding operations aged men, women and children—even suckling babes—were burned alive in their wigwams or indiscriminately slain by the sword. The wretched survivors, mostly women and children, were sent to end their lives on the plantations of Old Providence Island, in the sweltering Carribean; and the sachem Sassacus and his chiefs were slain and their scalps taken in triumph to Boston by John Wilson, minister of the First Church.

This was a beginning and a pattern. For 100 years after, while in the forests of the north Catholic France was striving to conquer the natives, "not by the sword, but by the Cross; not to overwhelm and crush the nations she invaded, but to convert, to civilize and embrace them among her children,"[1] Calvinism-gone-mad, having neglected to provide for the spiritual needs of the savages, was making New England Christian by wiping out paganism with the sword, just as Japan was made Pagan in about the same period by a half-century of slaughter among the followers of Saint Francis Xavier. The result of such a course seems logical enough to have been expected. Yet when the Puritans, wielding the sword of the Lord and Gideon, aroused the Indians and brought death and ruin to the English frontiers, they cried out in their mad fanaticism that the Catholic missionaries were responsible, and that these scalping parties had been launched against them to do the bloody work of Rome. Hatred was thus added to hatred; and the fires of intolerance were fanned to greater fury within Puritan breasts.

The reactions were in each case of a like nature. As the death penalty of 1647 was the answer to the challenge of Druillettes' appearance among the Indians of Maine, so in 1700, when France and England battled once again in the War of Spanish Succession (known in its New England phase as Queen Anne's War) the same law was reaffirmed

[1] Parkman.

against "divers Jesuit priests and Popish missionaries" who now were laboring in the same field. Chiefest of these in the animosity of the Puritans was Sebastian Rale, S. J., who was among Druillettes' old friends on the Kennebec. An expedition sent to kill or capture him failed of its purpose; and the Peace of Utrecht (1713) brought the war to an end. Rale remained with his charges. Whittier, in "Mogg Megone," depicts

> "The tall dark forms that make their way
> From the birch canoe on the river shore,
> And the forest paths, to that chapel door"

in the Indian village where now stands the town of Norridgewock, Maine. The poet speaks also of

> ". . . the naked knees
> And the dusky foreheads bending there,
> And, stretching his long, thin arms over these
> In blessing and in prayer,
> Like a shrouded spectre, pale and tall,
> In his coarse white vesture, Father Rale."

Scenes to stir a Puritan heart to anguish! And when, to the hatred born of religious zeal was added a new bitterness as the Indians rose in warfare in defense of their lands, a price was put upon the missionary's head. An expedition under Colonel Westbrook failed to bag the quarry. But on August 23, 1724, Father Rale was shot down by another Puritan force, his body mutilated and his scalp carried to Boston. By a strange dictate of God, the great-great-grandson of Westbrook and the great-grandson of Colonel Waldron, of Dover, New Hampshire, whose act of treachery towards the Penacook Indians fifty years earlier had never been forgotten and remained ever a cause for bloody reprisals for which the Catholic priests were blamed, became a convert and a priest. This was the late Reverend Edmund L. S. Waldron, of Pikesville, Maryland.

Scarcely had the fires which reached their height in the martyrdom of Rale abated when they were fanned

again by the War of the Austrian Succession. In New England, an expedition sent to capture the French stronghold of Louisburg, on Cape Breton Island, became a religious crusade against Catholics. George Whitefield, former associate of Wesley, harangued the departing troops. Sam Moody, senior chaplain with the forces, carried along an axe so that he might "hew down the altars of Antichrist and demolish his idols." And the commander was implored by another distinguished clergyman to strain every nerve to triumph over the enemy because the Protestant religion "lyes at stake."

This was not merely a spirit of the times, but a very definite tradition, a spirit of New England. And as it had been handed down to these Louisburg crusaders, so they transmitted it in turn to their children. When, more than a decade later, came the fourth and last of the intercolonial wars, generally called the French and Indian War, it served not only to keep the religious spirit of the New Englanders stirred to fever pitch, but, ending in the downfall of the French cause in America, paved the way for the Quebec Act of 1774, by which England granted religious freedom to the Catholics of Canada. News of this measure raised in New England as furious a storm of bigotry as ever had been witnessed in the most puritanical of Puritan days. George III was charged with being a Catholic in secret. "No king, no popery," was the cry that the New Englanders set up. And it was chiefly by their support that the bigoted John Jay was able to get through the Continental Congress an address to the people of England in which the Quebec Act was described as a measure to make the Catholic Canadians "a fit instrument in the hands of power to reduce the ancient free Protestant colonies to the same slavery as themselves." The Catholic religion, said the address, had dispensed "persecution, murder and rebellion throughout every part of the world."

Lest it be supposed that this was but an isolated

instance and one born of political rather than religious hostility, we will look back two years, to 1772. The famous Boston Committee of Correspondence, appointed by the townsmen on motion of Samuel Adams and made up of some of the foremost of the patriot party, among them Joseph Warren, James Otis, Oliver Wendell and Josiah Quincy, could not draw up a pronouncement upon the rights of the American people without, when touching on the matter of toleration, going out of their way to assert (borrowing the words from John Locke) that "Roman Catholicks or Papists are excluded . . . because . . . their recognizing the Pope in so absolute a manner, in subversion of government," would lead to "worse anarchy and confusion, civil discord, war and bloodshed."

With such a spirit prevailing in the land it is little to be wondered at that the services of Catholic Americans and Catholic Frenchmen in the Revolutionary War had no marked effect upon the temper of the rank and file of New Englanders. The latter emerged from the struggle for civil liberty and began constructing their State governments with no appreciable lessening of their anti-Catholic views. The children of the Puritans were true to their heritage. What, then, was the result?

Vermont, beginning early, adopted a constitution in 1777 which was borrowed from that of Pennsylvania. The Pennsylvania document proclaimed religious liberty; but Vermont decided to improve upon it by declaring in her own Bill of Rights that no man "who professes the Protestant religion" could be justly deprived of civil rights, the inference being clear that Catholics might justly have such rights taken from them or abridged. And, putting this idea into practice, a test oath was set up requiring State officials to "own and profess the Protestant religion."

Massachusetts, the next to act, adopted a Constitution that provided for the "support and maintenance of public Protestant teachers of piety, religion and morality," a sur-

vival of the ancient Puritan theocracy. Though affirming the right of religious toleration, the framers followed so far the ideas of Locke as to embody in the Constitution a test oath for civil and military officers of the State which no Catholic could conscientiously take. It required acknowledgement "that no foreign prince, person, *prelate* . . . hath, or ought to have, any . . . jurisdiction, superiority, *preëminence, authority,* dispensing or other power, in any matter, civil, *ecclesiastical or spiritual,* within this commonwealth." The Italics are mine.

New Hampshire, not to be outdone, wrote into its Constitution, in 1783, a provision for legislative authorization of "towns, parishes, bodies corporate or religious societies within this State to make adequate provision, at their own expense, for the support and maintenance of public Protestant teachers of piety, religion and morality." General John Sullivan of Revolutionary fame, Protestant descendant of a Catholic Irish immigrant, endeavored to have this stricken out because he believed that, by implication, it denied the legislature the right to give like authorization to Catholics. Though this objectionable provision was defeated in Sullivan's home town of Durham, it was carried by the rest of the State, and still remains in the Constitution, the last vestige in the entire United States, I believe, of the former disabilities imposed upon Catholics.

Further than this, New Hampshire, like Massachusetts and Vermont, provided that Governors and members of the legislature "shall be of the Protestant religion." Thus, said a prominent Protestant citizen of the State, the Constitution branded the Catholic,

> though educated and talented and virtuous, with infamy and disgrace, and sent him and his family through our streets and social circles, marked like Cain, as a sort of degraded outcast or helot, not fit to be entrusted with either legislative or executive rights, though bestowed fully upon the most ignorant and reprobate.

Connecticut, which framed no Constitution until 1818,

adopted after the Declaration of Independence the provisions of its charter of 1662 as its basis of government. Acting in full conformity with the spirit of this ancient screed, the assembly reasserted nearly the entire code of Puritan laws, including that requiring compulsory church attendance under penalty of a fine and that taxing the entire people for the support of the ministry. The Congregational Church, by reason of preponderating numbers, remained in practice a State establishment, though a law had been placed on the books exempting such members of other sects as contributed to their own churches from paying money into its coffers. Everyone, however, was compelled to pay for the support of some church. If there was none with which they would affiliate, they must not only pay a fine for non-attendance, but had to help support such as existed. In actual practice, Congregationalism and the Congregational clergy exercised almost as much power in purely civil matters as in the days of the Puritan Fathers. And these conditions remained unchanged for forty years after the establishment of an independent Government in America.

Rhode Island alone, of the New England States (Maine was then a part of Massachusetts) remained true to her ancient principles of religious toleration.

Thus did New England enter upon her new life of freedom by raising afresh the ancient barriers. The old Protestant traditions survived, and if not in the full vigor of their youth, were at least hale and hearty in their age.

## III.—The Rising of the Tide

The dawn of American Independence, which saw a substantial and influential Catholic group in Maryland, another though less influential and compact one in Pennsylvania and a scattering of members of the despised Faith through the other Middle States, found New England entering upon its new life with practically no Catholics among

its white population. The natives of the Maine forests, deprived of a spiritual advisor (save for an occasional visit from a missionary from Canada) from about the time of the martyrdom of Rale, fifty years before, had clung to the Faith with a tenacity unequalled by that of the few white Catholics who had been bold enough to place themselves within the sphere of Puritan influence.

For there had been Catholics in New England, almost from the first days of the Puritan settlement. They were engulfed by the preponderant Congregationalism and they, or their children, were absorbed by it and lost. Lacking the protecting isolation of the Red Men, they had been swept away by the tide; and so to-day we have a New England peopled with men and women of Celtic names who can truthfully claim descent from Puritan days and who know almost as little about the Faith of their fathers as did the colonists among whom their ancestors had ventured.

But though Massachusetts "began her history as a State with much less racial mixture than most of the other States," the Revolution had brought to New England a scattering of French settlers who remained after the departure of the armies of Lafayette. And in the first years of independence, there appeared also a handful of Irish, most of them remaining in Boston and its neighborhood, others going to Damariscotta, Newcastle and Nobleboro, in Maine, and to other coastal towns.

This group grew slowly but steadily, being fed by a tiny stream from Ireland and by another forced out from France by the first mutterings of the terrific storm of infidelity which was to end in the Terror. In 1788 the first public Mass in Boston was said by a former French chaplain before a congregation of perhaps 100 souls.

Volume was added to the trickling stream of immigration by springs of faith in the heart of the old Puritan families. The Reverend John Thayer, originally a Congregational minister, while traveling in Europe had seen

CATHEDRAL OF THE HOLY CROSS, FRANKLIN STREET, BOSTON

the Catholic Church in its full vigor and for the first time. "Tell my Cousin Colas," wrote Benjamin Franklin from France to his sister, Jane Mecom, in Boston, in 1783, "that the parson she recommended to me has gone to Rome, and it is reported has changed his Presbyterianism [*sic*] for the Catholic religion. . . . It would be pleasant if a Boston man should become Pope. Stranger things have happened."

John Thayer did not become Pope; but he returned to his native city to become pastor of the little Catholic flock there in 1790. "The Puritans saw, for the first time, one made in their own mould . . . range himself under the banner that attached contempt to its supporters. . . . Many New Englanders, laymen and ministers, have entered through the breach that John Thayer made."

Father Thayer's congregation numbered about 200. But the Revolution in France, internal disturbances in the French colonies and the subsequent Napoleonic wars sent other Frenchmen to this new land of promise. And in Ireland the rising of '98, the troubles attendant upon the passage of the Act of Union and Emmet's abortive movement poured out a tide of Ireland's lifeblood. By 1810 the Catholic population of Boston, estimated from the record of marriages, baptisms and deaths, was about 750; and all through the great hinterland of New England Catholics were beginning to appear for the first time. To the Irish and French were added a few French-Canadians who filtered down across the northern border.

Catholics now were looked upon with a more friendly eye by the more enlightened section of the community. This was due in a measure to the rising power of Unitarianism and a consequent weakening of the hold of Congregationalism upon the people, but in greater part to the compelling example of Catholic culture and Catholic charity afforded by the lives of Fathers Matignon and Cheverus, exiles from France, who had been assigned to minister to the Catholics in the New England field. Yet this friend-

liness must not be overestimated. So far as the masses were concerned, it is doubtful if the old ingrained hostility to the "Romish" religion and its adherents was at all abated; and though consideration for the Catholics may have been to some extent responsible for the passage of a legislative act in 1811 which delivered the first telling blow to Established Congregationalism (an act providing that taxes levied upon a citizen for the support of the clergy might be applied "to the support of public teachers of his own religious sect and denomination" and that members of organized churches should be forever afterwards "exempted from taxation for the support of public worship"), the chief force behind the change was the force of Protestant dissension.

In the succeeding ten years, however, with a fresh influx and a rapid natural increase of Catholics, and a consequent broadening of vision of the thoughtful men and women with whom the newcomers came in contact (not to mention a wholesome respect for their increasing political power, for even in those early days the Catholic immigrants were quick to take advantage of the opportunities of citizenship), the attitude of the people so changed that when a Constitutional Convention met and the question of changing the objectionable oath was brought to the fore, members of the committee wrote to Bishop Cheverus, asking his counsel. The form of oath submitted by the committee to the Convention, and approved by the people, was that written by the Bishop himself. Thus in 1821 the influence of the small Catholic group in New England lent itself to help break down one of the long-standing religious barriers. Two years later, when Bishop Cheverus was recalled to France, more than 200 Protestants petitioned that he be allowed to remain. "We hold him," they said, "a blessing and a treasure in our social community."

Meanwhile the other States were beginning to recover from the anti-Papal panic of post-bellum days. In Ver-

mont, the Constitution had been twice revised, once in 1786, when the objectionable stipulation that only Protestants were secure in their civil rights was removed, only to have the liberal gesture made a mockery when the anti-Catholic test oath required of the General Assembly was allowed to remain. This, however, was done away with in 1793.

Maine, having branched out as an independent State, framed a Constitution free from religious narrowness; and in Connecticut, thanks to the bitterness between Established Congregationalism and the other Protestant sects, in which the handful of Catholics naturally enough supported the minority, a political overturn placed the liberal element in power and gave to the State a new Constitution in 1818 which turned out the Establishment and did away with all disabilities.

Only New Hampshire clung to the old forms. But slowly, slowly, slowly, the tide was creeping in. New Hampshire was feeling it, with the French-Canadians coming down over the border and the Irish filtering up from Boston. Maine was feeling it, with Edward, the son of the Catholic James Kavanagh of Damariscotta, made secretary of the State Senate in 1828, a Senator in 1830, a Congressman the next two terms and finally Governor for an unexpired term, Maine's first and only Catholic ruler. Vermont and Rhode Island and Connecticut were feeling it, too, though not so strongly. In Connecticut Bishop Fenwick found only seven hundred and twenty Catholics as late as 1835; and in Vermont there were only a few hundred more, chiefly French-speaking. But Vermont could point to a notable conversion. Fanny Allen, daughter of Ethan Allen, the Revolutionary patriot, became a Catholic and a nun. She died in 1819 at a convent in Montreal.

The rapid commercial and industrial development of New England, beginning in the 1820's, not only gave employment to the newcomers and attracted others to this section of the country, but served to distribute them widely

through the six States. Thus in 1826 Irish Catholics were taken to Worcester by the contractor constructing the Blackstone Canal. Later, in the '30's, railroads began to push out from Boston, with Irish Catholics doing much of the construction work. It was to these "railroaders," as they were called, that many a New England town is indebted for the nucleus of its present Catholic population. The Worcester Railroad carried them part way across the State, the Western Railroad to Pittsfield into northern New York, the Lowell road towards the northern border, the Vermont and Massachusetts Railroad into Vermont, and the Blackstone Canal and afterwards the rail line to Providence conveyed them in goodly numbers into Rhode Island.

The demand for additional man-power for these great public works was met by a great increase in Irish immigration. From 1831 to 1842 Ireland had suffered six years of poor crops and near famine conditions. Driven to seek a livelihood in foreign lands and apprised by relatives here of the new opportunities, they came in an ever-swelling stream.

Just as each seeming threat at Puritan institutions from New France in the colonial days provoked a new outburst of anti-Catholic feeling, so the menace of eventual Catholic dominance which could be read into the rising tide of immigration, now provoked reactions of a most violent character. As the immigrant stream had extended over the land, so this new anti-Catholic agitation was widespread; but, true to its heritage, New England remained in the forefront.

It was New England that saw the first outbreak of anti-Catholic violence, the burning of the convent and academy of the Ursulines, at Charlestown, Massachusetts, an institution which owed its foundation to the Reverend John Thayer, the Boston convert, who had spent years, largely in Ireland, gathering funds for it. It was New England that stood solidly behind the Know-Nothing movement of

1854 and 1855. Boston twice chose a Know-Nothing Mayor; Massachusetts, with Delaware the only other State, returned a Know-Nothing State ticket in 1854. In the following year the Know-Nothings elected governors and legislatures in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut; New York and California being the only other States in which the anti-Catholic slates went through. Massachusetts, to make its record worse, forced the disbanding of Catholic militia companies and passed a Nunneries Inspection bill that sent "smelling committees" to pry into the homes of the religious orders. So offensive was one member that even the hostile legislature was disgusted and expelled him from the House.

Meanwhile, Massachusetts, thanks to the increasing power of the non-established sects, had in 1833, completely disestablished the Congregational Church. Albert Bushnell Hart speaks of this as the final step in the process of establishing religious freedom in the United States. We must not be misled by the phrase. Though to practice one's religion without penalty or restraint was now possible, the civil liberties of Catholics still were insecure. The people of New Hampshire in 1851, refused to wipe out from their Constitution the provision that none but Protestants could hold certain State offices; though in fact the law was ignored by those entrusted with its administration and Catholics held office in spite of it. Not until 1876, and then only by the power of Catholic votes, was the objectionable oath abolished. In the voting on that occasion no less than 14,231 residents of New Hampshire or nearly one-third of those casting ballots, opposed the removal of this disability imposed upon their Catholic neighbors.

The decade of 1845 to 1855 saw the beginning of the flood-tide of Catholic immigration. Failure of the Irish potato crop, the consequent famines of 1846-1847 and the Irish rising of '48 had combined to send to these shores a new army of invasion. By 1850 there were 176,609 Irish-

born residents in the six New England States. Knownothingism was the reaction.

Yet, however much the old New England narrowness may have wept at the coming of these strangers, New England industry welcomed them. The cotton mills, established about 1813 and originally employing native-born young women, had exhausted the labor market. The swarm of intelligent and skillful young women from Ireland was a godsend. Their coming gave fresh impetus to the industry; and when even this new supply proved insufficient, efforts were made to secure other workers from Canada.

This brought a new rush of Catholic immigration, the French-Canadians. Beginning immediately after the Civil War, and continuing for a half century, these people poured in so rapidly that by 1900 there were 275,375 French residents in New England of Canadian parentage, the great bulk of them in the manufacturing cities of Manchester, Fall River, New Bedford, Holyoke, Worcester and Lawrence. They then constituted seventy per cent of the total immigrant French-Canadian population of the United States.

Meanwhile, another impulse had been added to the tide. The Portuguese, chiefly Azorean, first went to New Bedford a century ago as sailors on the whaling vessels sent out from that port. Though of different religion and different temperament, the bold seamanlike qualities of the Portuguese could be appreciated by the Yankee captains of the world's great whaling port. In due time a tiny colony of these newcomers was formed at New Bedford, the oldest Portuguese colony in America; and lack of opportunity at home coupled with a demand for workers in the then developing New Bedford mills and an unwillingness of the young men of the Azores to bear the yoke of military service imposed by the nation (which, for them, meant a long exile in the barracks of continental Portugal), served to get recruits. Though in 1860 there were less than 1500

Portuguese-born in New England, the total had been swelled in 1900 to 16,700.

In about the same period came the surge from Italy, due largely to the unbearable economic conditions in the North and agrarian troubles in the South of the peninsula. New England felt the full force of this new wave; and a total Italian-born population of less than 4000 in 1880 was increased to 16,839 in 1890 and to 61,297 in 1900.

Poles, Lithuanians, Austrians, Bohemians and Belgians have all contributed to swell the Catholic tide.

The growth of the Catholic population by the influx of foreign-born was coupled with a natural growth so rapid that the old-line Yankee element saw itself doomed. Professor William Z. Ripley, the distinguished economist, informs us that "the fruitfulness of French-Canadian women in Massachusetts is three times that of the Massachusetts-born," that the Portuguese woman is four times as fruitful as the native and that among the Irish element of the community, which had, in the time in which he wrote (1908) been hit by a declining birth-rate, "the fruitfulnes is fifty per cent greater." In Boston in 1876, for example, in a population of which the native-born comprised (on a basis of the 1880 census) about seventy-eight per cent, and the Irish-born only seventeen per cent, of the 10,773 children recorded born only 2916 had both parents American-born while 3924 had both parents Irish-born. More conclusive are figures gathered some forty years ago by John Gilmary Shea. In 1887 there were 12,137 children born in Boston, and 7382 baptisms in Catholic churches. In Manchester, New Hampshire, in the same year, there were 1390 reported births and 930 Catholic baptisms. Of 77,518 children reported born that year in the six New England States, Shea figured that at least 43,000, considerably more than fifty per cent, were baptized Catholics. Yet at that time the Catholic population of New England, liberally estimated,

was only slightly more than twenty-five per cent of the total.

The result of this rapid growth was a Catholic transition in New England from numerical inferiority to unquestioned supremacy, from the least of the religious groups in this country of the Puritans to the greatest of them. Figures gathered by the United States Census Bureau in 1916 show a Catholic population in the six States of 2,518,082 or thirty-four per cent of the total population of 1920.

Striking as is this figure, it becomes more significant when compared with the membership in the Churches. Not only do the Catholics stand head and shoulder above each of the other denominations, but they exceed the total of them all. Of the 3,657,945 Church members in New England the Catholics can claim almost sixty-nine per cent. In other words, about seven of every ten persons in New England with church affiliations are Catholics. Puritan Congregationalism, for 250 years the dominant religion of New England, can muster a membership of only 278,865, a pitifully weak shadow of its ancient strength.

# CATHOLICISM IN BOSTON

A. J. PHILPOTT, LL.D.

IT seems almost like the irony of fate that Boston, Massachusetts, should have a Catholic population in 1923 exceeding that of all other creeds, for if there was one spot on the entire North American continent where for nearly 200 years a Catholic was not welcome, and for fifty more years he was not particularly welcome, that spot was Boston.

The Pilgrims who landed at Plymouth in 1620 had had their vision broadened during their eleven years' residence in Holland, where they also absorbed something of the Dutch spirit of democracy that is reflected in the famous "Compact," which they signed in the cabin of the Mayflower. They had dwelt among strangers who did not interfere with their religious practices and who treated them with a tolerance unknown in England.

But the Puritans who landed in Boston in 1630 were different. They had not had the advantage which the Pilgrims possessed in having lived among a people who had ideas of civil government and liberty unknown in England at that time. They knew little or nothing of the world outside of the England in which they had lived, and they brought, with their sturdiness and capacity for hard work, the bitterness of feeling, prejudices and religious hatreds of the mother country. Their own religion had in it little of graciousness, for it was based on the cold doctrines of John Calvin.

Another thing which the Puritans brought with them was much of the social caste feeling of England. The Pilgrims lost all that in Holland. If ever there was a people that was self-sufficient as colonists in all things at the start, it was the Puritans who settled in Boston. They were not inclined to ask favors of anybody, and from the

beginning they showed an independence in government and in the general conduct of affairs that pointed to eventual trouble with the mother country. In the matter of education they declared their independence from the start, and eight years after they landed founded Harvard College, so as to be wholly free of English domination. They established a printing press the following year, for the publishing of their own books.

In religious matters they were absolutely intolerant. They had no use for any form of Christianity except the orthodox Congregational. A Quaker, a Baptist, or an adherent of the established Church of England could not live with them. To the New England Puritan of the seventeenth century, dominated by a theocratic government in which the ministers were the real power, a Catholic was a sort of bogey man to be feared and hated; and where fear and hatred are combined there is little of reason. Therefore, such a thing as a Catholic in a Puritan community was unthinkable—at least a Catholic who would proclaim himself as such. Myles Standish is an example of this. And it so continued for nearly 200 years. There was no perspective in their religious vision. Boston felt the reaction of this spirit in its religious as it did in its material, economic, social and political life. There is little to note about Catholicism in Boston for more than 150 years.

That there were people from Ireland in the town is certain, but if they were Catholics it is just as certain that they did not proclaim the fact. Thousands of Irish were deported to the West Indies by Cromwell, and Boston was always very close to the West Indies in Colonial times. Its first commercial trading was with the West Indies, and there is no doubt that some of the deported escaped into Boston and the Colonies in this way.

Any Catholics who wanted to succeed in Boston during the first 100 years or more would have to deny

their religion, and of course, would be compelled to use the offices of the existing Church for marriage or death. How many changed their religious belief because of this pressure will never be known. It is a question, for instance, if the parents of the first great New England painter, John Singleton Copley, were not originally Catholics. Both Mary Singleton and her husband were Irish. He died leaving her with one child, a son, John Singleton Copley, who, at an early age, became famous and comparatively rich by his artistic talents. Mrs. Copley married for the second time an Irishman, Peter Pelham, who was a mezzotint engraver. Why he should ever come to a place like Boston in the early part of the eighteenth century is a mystery. In point of fact he was one of the foremost engravers of the day, having learned his art in Dublin, Ireland, where a great school of engravers had grown up.

Peter Pelham was one of the founders of the Charitable Irish Society of Boston in 1737. He was something of a painter, and taught John Singleton Copley to draw and paint, and his own son, Harry Pelham, how to engrave. Pelham himself was the first engraver of note in the Colonies, and the portraits he made in Boston at the time are now much sought after by connoisseurs.

Even before Pelham's arrival, in the *Weekly Rehearsal* of March 20, 1732, is this item: "We hear that Mass has been performed in town this winter by an Irish Priest among some Catholics of his own nation, of whom it is not doubted we have a considerable number among us." As the *Weekly Rehearsal* was edited by the ablest and most careful writer of that day, Jeremy Gridley, there must have been grounds for the item.

Even in the witchcraft days there is evidence that there were Irish Catholics in Boston, for some of them were the victims of that fanaticism. In fact, one of the very first was Ann Glover, who was hanged in 1688, and of whom the Reverend Cotton Mather wrote: "She was a

scandalous old Irishwoman, very poor, a Roman Catholic and obstinate in idolatry." Calef, a merchant, in his "More Wonders of the Invisible World," said of her: "They did her cruel. The proof was wholly deficient. She died a Catholic."

Ann Glover and her daughter and all the other Irish people in New England at that time in all probability came from the West Indies. In their journeyings in prison ships and merchant vessels they experienced hardships enough to drive them to insanity or death. It is doubtful if many came direct from Ireland in the early days. Irish priests were included in the deportations and one of these might have found his way to Boston and celebrated the Mass alluded to in the *Weekly Rehearsal* of March 20, 1732.

The feeling against Catholics was so strong that in 1756, when some of the exiled Acadians landed in Boston, they were denied the service of a priest, because, as Governor Hutchinson tells in his history, "the people would on no terms have consented to the public exercise of religious worship by Roman Catholic priests." It is a well-known fact that a favorite diversion on November 5 (Guy Fawkes' Day) every year, was a procession in which the Pope and the Devil were carried in effigy. This was stopped by George Washington in 1775, when he was besieging Boston, in an order in which he said he could not "help expressing his surprise that there should be officers and soldiers in this army as void of common sense as to insult the religious feelings of the Canadians, with whom friendship and an alliance are being sought." Washington was not born or brought up in New England. He represented the new spirit of toleration that later found expression all over the country.

Although it is certain that the first Catholics in Boston were Irish, it is also certain that a number of French followed them. There was a Huguenot church for a time in School Street, which was taken over in 1788 by the

Catholic congregation, and Doctor Carroll, the Prefect Apostolic in Baltimore, gave faculties to minister there to a French priest, who is recorded in the first Boston Directory in 1789, as follows:

"Poterie (Claude de la), Roman Catholic priest, vice-prefect, and Missionary Apostolic, rector of the church in South Latin School Street dedicated to God under the title of the Holy Cross, Oliver's Lane."

He was not worthy of the office and Doctor Carroll removed him in 1789. He was succeeded by the Reverend Louis Rousselet, who was also removed and succeeded in 1790 by the Reverend John Thayer, an ex-Congregational minister, who had been chaplain to John Hancock during the Revolution, after which he went abroad and was converted to Catholicism while in Rome, May 25, 1783. As the deposed priest, Rousselet, set up an opposition church which attracted the French, in 1791 Bishop Carroll went to Boston to straighten matters out. While he was in the city he was entertained by the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company and by Governor Hancock, who attended Mass as a mark of respect for him.

Bishop Carroll appointed the Reverend Francis A. Matignon to succeed Father Thayer, and then began, August 20, 1792, the real career of the Church in Boston. Matignon, a refugee from the French Revolution and a gifted man, soon healed all differences. In 1796 he invited the Reverend John Louis de Cheverus, then a French exile in England, to join him. Cheverus arrived October 3, 1796. At that time there were 210 Catholics in Boston, fifteen in Plymouth, twenty-one in Newburyport and three in Salem. There were also small groups at Damariscotta and Newcastle, Maine.

Both Fathers Matignon and Cheverus endeared themselves to all the people of Boston in 1798 by their work and heroism during a yellow fever epidemic. This was shown when in 1799 Father Matignon purchased a piece of

ground for a church on Franklin Street. Prominent Protestants in Boston, headed by John Adams, subscribed $11,000 toward that church. Bulfinch drew the plans without charge, and the proprietor of the Boston Theatre, who owned the land, sold it for one-half what it was worth. Ground was broken on Saint Patrick's Day, 1800, and the church, which cost $20,000, was dedicated by Bishop Carroll on September 24, 1803.

The little flock of Catholics had grown to 500 and Bishop Carroll thought the time was ripe for a bishop to govern a new diocese, and the Reverend John Louis Cheverus was appointed for the see, April 8, 1808, and consecrated in Baltimore, November 1, 1810, the first Bishop of Boston, with all New England in his diocese. To his saintly character were due the influence, growth and stability which the Diocese of Boston quickly attained.

In the jurisdiction of Bishop Cheverus, all New England, there are now eight dioceses. In 1819 the first convent and school for girls was established on Federal Street, Boston, near the Pro-Cathedral. This was due primarily to Father Thayer, who, in 1817, while he was in Limerick, Ireland, induced Mary and Catherine Ryan to come to Boston. After two years' study in Montreal they entered the Ursuline Order, and in 1826 began the convent at Mount Benedict, Charlestown, which was burned by a mob of fanatics, August 11, 1834. This was the first great act of violence against the Catholics of Boston, and the outrage aroused the indignation of the entire country. Prominent Boston Protestants held an indignation meeting in Faneuil Hall, but no one was ever punished.

Bishop Cheverus ordained as priests Denis Ryan, Patrick Byrne and Virgil Barber. The latter opened a school at Claremont, New Hampshire, where Fathers James Fitton, William Wiley and William Tyler, later Bishop of Hartford, studied. Churches were built in Salem, in South Boston, and other places, and a great many

converts were made. One notable among these was Frances, daughter of General Ethan Allen, who later became a nun in Canada.

The Reverend Benedict Joseph Fenwick was made Bishop of the Boston Diocese, May 10, 1825, and under his guidance Catholicism made such rapid strides that it aroused more hostility and antagonism than had been known before. He was born in Maryland, September 3, 1782, and studied at Georgetown College and the Sulpician Seminary in Baltimore. Later he joined the Society of Jesus and was twice president of Georgetown. He started a seminary in his own house in 1828 and there prepared for ordination Fathers Fitton, Wiley, Smith, Tyler and O'Flaherty. In 1844, he was given as coadjutor, the Right Reverend John Bernard Fitzpatrick. In 1829 he began the publication of a weekly paper, the *Jesuit or Catholic Sentinel,* which later became the *Boston Pilot.* In 1843 he founded Holy Cross College at Worcester. In 1845 it was estimated there were fifty churches in the diocese, and 50,000 Catholics in the State of Massachusetts.

The Irish kept coming in great numbers in the forties, because of economic reasons. The railroads were being built and there were many great public works at this time that required unskilled labor. It also was wanted in the manufacturing industries that were beginning to grow and expand. These workers were not welcomed by native laborers; and were regarded with a jealousy that manifested itself in many ways. The Broad Street riots were a reflection of this feeling, although they demonstrated the fact that the Irish could fight if necessary, and would. They were an industrious people and faithful to their religion, the priests acting as their directors in even more than a spiritual sense. They stood loyally behind Bishop Fenwick in his educational and philanthropic activities. The immigrants suffered in health, the ravages of disease among them being very great. People accustomed

to a moderate climate found the hard, cold New England winters little to their liking. Being hard and willing workers, however, they never became disheartened, but grew and prospered.

The Right Reverend John Bernard Fitzpatrick succeeded Bishop Fenwick on the latter's death in 1845. He was faced almost from the beginning with a new wave of hostility. It was during his administration that the Catholics of Boston issued their Declaration of Independence in educational matters. Their boys were being persecuted in the public schools, being compelled to take part in Protestant prayers and to read from a Protestant version of the Bible, objectionable to them and to their parents.

One boy of the North End, Thomas J. Whall, refused to do so and was severely punished by a teacher. The boy's father appealed to the courts and the teacher was sustained. Then Father Fitton called a meeting of the Catholics of the North End in Saint Mary's Church, and it was decided to open a parochial school. The school was established and most of the Catholic boys of that section attended it. Following this, for the first time several Catholics were elected on the School Committee. The Catholics of the North End decided to go still further, and a few years later subscribed, with others, enough money to start Boston College, which has grown to be one of the foremost Catholic educational institutions in the country.

The Civil War broke out, and then for a time, religious differences were forgotten. Many Catholics went to the front from Boston in their own regiment, the Ninth, but many also were in the other regiments whose valor in the field is a conspicuous chapter in the records of this era.

When Bishop Fitzpatrick died, February 13, 1866, he was succeeded by Bishop John Joseph Williams. The Boston Diocese had then grown to great proportions and its activities were manifold. The revolution of 1848 that swept over Europe drove a great number of Catholic Ger-

mans to Boston. They built their own church on Shawmut Avenue and opened a parochial school of their own. Bishop Williams, born in Boston, as had been Bishop Fitzpatrick, had been vicar-general under the latter. On February 12, 1875, he was made archbishop, and under him the Church flourished as never before. His saintly character made a deep impression on all classes, and he was gifted as an organizer. During his administration many Italians, Portuguese, Poles, Lithuanians and people from other Catholic countries settled in the diocese, which thus became more and more cosmopolitan in character. The charitable and philanthropic activities and churches were doubled, and it was a great relief to him when Bishop William H. O'Connell of Portland, Maine, was made his coadjutor, January 26, 1906. On the death of Archbishop Williams, August 30, 1907, Bishop O'Connell succeeded to the office.

His installation in the Cathedral, in 1907, was one of the most notable events in the Catholic history of Boston. It was with genuine pride that the people of all classes welcomed him back from Rome in 1911, after he had been created a Cardinal. All that had been done before showed wonderful progress under most discouraging conditions, but these early pioneers built the foundation for the accomplishments of Cardinal O'Connell, whose personality and genius have carried the diocese to new and higher levels and the Catholic Church has become the dominant Church in Puritan Boston and in New England.

The Catholics of Boston have for several generations been active and powerful factors in its political, business and professional life, all the result of the example of those early, hard-working pioneers whose sturdiness of character commanded the respect of thoughtful people from the beginning, and whose loyalty and industry made possible what has been accomplished.

The material growth of the Boston Diocese in the 100 years that have elapsed since the first church was erected

on Franklin Street by Bishop Cheverus may be gleaned from the following figures of record of 1922:

The diocese has a total of 294 churches, of which 256 are churches with resident priests and thirty-eight are missions with churches. It has a total of 804 priests, of whom 604 are diocesan priests, thirty-two are secular priests not of the diocese, and 168 are priests of religious orders. It has 147 Brothers, including novices and postulants, and 1984 women religious, including novices and postulants.

The diocese has one seminary for diocesan clergy students, three colleges and preparatory schools for boys with 2332 students, two academies for boys with 220 pupils, eleven academies and colleges for young ladies with 965 students and 1009 girls in elementary branches, and two normal schools for teaching Sisters. There are 137 parishes with parochial schools and thirty-seven with high schools, containing a total of 31,836 male pupils. The total number of girls in parochial and high schools is 40,510, making a grand total of 72,346 pupils in all the parochial schools. There are twenty-seven teaching communities, with 1407 teaching Sisters and forty-six lay teachers, making a total of 1524 teachers in the parochial schools.

There are nine orphan asylums containing 683 orphans; one infant asylum in which 276 children were received and cared for in 1922; one school for deaf mutes with 158 pupils, and three industrial or reform schools with 724 inmates. There are 927 inmates of homes. There are six hospitals which accommodated 6218 patients in 1922 and had 30,214 outpatients. The Catholic population in the Boston Diocese is more than 1,000,000.

### Boston's Social Welfare Work

The Catholic charities of the Archdiocese of Boston owe their existence in large measure, to Bishop Cheverus, who during the yellow fever epidemic did not hesitate to

devote himself entirely to the sick, hastening from house to house, the nurse of all who were stricken. From that time he was regarded as the Apostle of Charity and the champion of religion. Under the inspiration of the succeeding bishops the charities grew with the establishment of hospitals, orphanages, the work of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul, old folks' homes and day nurseries. These charities conducted their work without central direction, and, as the result showed, lack of coördination. Archbishop Williams, to meet the need of a clearing house, organized, in 1907, the Catholic Charities Bureau, which now directs all Catholic charities within the archdiocese. The infant and maternity work, the placing-out system, summer vacations for boys and girls, aiding old folks who desire to live at home, and social service course, are directly under its control.

The increase of the importance of the Catholic Charities Bureau has been phenomenal. In 1907 it spent $4000 and in 1922, $80,000. When his Eminence Cardinal O'Connell took charge of the archdiocese he saw the importance of this Bureau, and under his wise counsel its directors have established eight branch offices in other cities. This $80,000, of course, does not represent the total amount spent during the year. There are now forty-four Catholic charitable organizations in Boston; eleven societies for Social Welfare; 115 Conferences of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul; sixty women's guilds; one infant asylum; two infant placing-out agencies; six day nurseries; nine orphanages; five industrial schools; six old folks' homes; four working girls' homes; two homes for convalescents; two vacation homes for poor children; two vacation homes for working girls; six neighborhood houses; five hospitals; one school for deaf mutes; four social centres; four societies for social action; three vocational schools, and one social service school. The valuation of

property is $6,000,000 and the annual budget for the support of these institutions in 1922 was $1,500,000.

The Bureau consolidated the diocesan charitable forces for more effective work at the beginning of the World War. More than thirty societies, with a membership of over 5000 women, devoted their time to the preparation and making of articles for the young men in the service. At the very beginning of the War his Eminence Cardinal O'Connell placed all the charitable institutional equipment at the service of the nation, and the Bureau coöperated whole-heartedly with all the public committees and agencies in work relating to the War. A large number of excellent volunteer workers for the Red Cross were furnished by the Bureau of Catholic Charities.

The Juvenile Protectorate Branch of the Catholic Charities, inaugurated in 1912, has agents throughout the diocese attending the sessions of the local courts to prevent, as far as possible, the needless commitment of Catholic children to public institutions. The work with children is one of the most important of this Bureau. The accepted policy of all civic departments, whether municipal or State, in dealing with dependent, neglected, or delinquent children, is to place them in foster homes with private families. The distinctive feature of the Massachusetts system is the use of private families instead of institutions. The laws of the State governing the care of its wards are very clear and the religious as well as the temporal welfare of the child is considered.

In 1905 provision was made by the Legislature for the placing of children in the homes of the same religion as their parents. Since then the Catholic agencies have had little anxiety for Catholic children. One of the reasons for this very satisfactory method of placing children is the splendid system of coöperation existing between the State Board of Charities and the Catholic Charitable Bureau. In addition to the willingness of this Bureau to supply the

State with the names of suitable boarding houses for Catholic children, the Bureau has a method of communicating regularly with the pastors throughout the diocese, advising them where the children have been located in their parishes and caring for them when placed. Through the activities of this Bureau and the coöperation of the State, there is no likelihood of children going to other than homes of their own Faith.

The temporary refuge for destitute, neglected, and orphan children between the ages of three and twelve years, is the Home for Destitute Catholic Children, which cares for them until they are restored to their parents, or provided with good Catholic homes. More than 1000 children pass through the Home annually. It was founded towards the close of the Civil War, after a meeting of superintendents of Sunday Schools was held at the home of Patrick Donahoe, when a corporation was formed for the purpose of maintaining "a temporary home for our destitute Roman Catholic children." The first meeting was held on May 11, 1864. A building at 9 High Street, formerly the Eliot Charity School, was leased for a time, and a year later a building at 10 Common Street was purchased and occupied. On January 24, 1866, the Sisters of Charity took charge of the house, replacing a lay superintendent. In 1867 an acre of land on Harrison Avenue was purchased, and in 1870 work was begun on the present structure, which was dedicated in 1871.

Saint Vincent's Orphan Asylum is the oldest Catholic charitable institution in Boston. In 1832 three Sisters of Mercy, headed by Sister Ann Alexis, started a school for girls. The cholera epidemic of 1852 threw so many dependent children upon their charity that the Sisters decided to establish a large asylum. In 1858, at the cost of $120,000, a large building at the South End of Boston was erected. Orphaned girls from five to twelve years old are cared for. They receive a common school educa-

tion and are instructed in sewing, housework, bookkeeping, typewriting and domestic science. The home is open to all; no distinction is made because of creed, color or race.

Saint Mary's Infant Asylum had its beginning in the establishment of a ward in the Carney Hospital. In 1872 Saint Ann's Infant Asylum was founded in Dorchester. Two distinct departments are maintained. The asylum proper cares for children up to the ages of four who have been abandoned or neglected, and those that survive are boarded out or given in adoption, or restored to their kindred. A maternity hospital is an important feature of the asylum. The Sisters of Charity are in charge of this institution.

Another institution, the House of the Sisters of the Good Shepherd, is maintained for wayward girls. It is divided into three departments: 1—The Magdalen Asylum for reformed penitents, who, having no desire to return to the world and wishing to spend their days in peace, may do so; 2—The Reformatory for fallen women who have entered the institution voluntarily or have been committed to its care; 3—The Protectory or Preservation Class, for children who have been badly brought up or rescued from great moral danger. They are educated in such branches of industry as will enable them to earn an honest living after their discharge from the home.

One of the most interesting and important charities is the House of the Angel Guardian for boys, which owes its origin to the zeal of the Reverend George Foxcroft Haskins, a convert, formerly an Episcopalian minister. From his youth he evinced a great love for boys, acquired by his connection as chaplain with various charitable and correctional institutions in Boston. After his conversion he prepared for the priesthood at Saint Sulpice in Paris, where he was a fellow student of the late Archbishop Williams. He served for some time as curate in Salem, later at Saint Stephen's Church in Boston. His excursions

about the neighborhood brought him in contact with many lads who needed a home and school. The only asylums for these boys were city and State institutions, and Father Haskins knew how detrimental they were to the Faith of Catholic boys. With the idea of founding a Catholic home for boys he purchased a small building on Moon Street in the North End, which accommodated thirty boys. In 1853 he established the Society of the Angel Guardian, which has been the main channel through which the institution has received its support. The Moon Street house was wholly unsuitable, and afforded no facilities for development, so in 1858 he secured a site in Roxbury, where a building was erected to accommodate 100 boys. He then called on the Belgian Brothers of Charity to care for his Home, but it was two years after Father Haskins' death (October 5, 1872) before the Brothers of Charity were able to supply a sufficient staff for this work. These Brothers of Charity teach the boys trades and fit them to earn a livelihood when they leave the Home. At the present time the institution covers a large acreage in a beautiful location in the Jamaica Plain District of Boston.

Additional work with boys was the establishment in 1883 of the Working Boys' Home. A large building was constructed on Bennett Street at a cost of $65,000, raised by fairs and subscriptions. The building outgrew itself and the boys were transferred to Saint John's Industrial School at Newton Highlands. A branch office is still maintained in Boston. This institution affords young men who work in the city a proper home under ideal religious influences. During its work in Boston the House has cared for thousands of street waifs who received a good elementary education, and were taught various trades and thus became useful members of society.

A similar home for girls, begun in 1888, is located on Union Park Street and is in charge of the Grey Nuns. It is maintained for the benefit of respectable young girls

and women who are dependent upon their own exertions for a livelihood. An employment bureau is connected with the home. As the original building failed to supply increasing demands, additional quarters were obtained. Both places accommodate 300 boarders.

The archdiocese maintains three important foundations for care of the sick: The Carney Hospital, Saint Elizabeth's Hospital and the Holy Ghost Hospital for Incurables. The oldest of these is the Carney, established through the generosity of Andrew Carney, who purchased for its inception the Howe estate in South Boston in 1863, for $13,000. The total contribution since then from Mr. Carney and his family has totalled $75,000. This hospital, which is in charge of the Sisters of Charity, cares for patients from all parts of New England, irrespective of religion, race or color. Some of Boston's leading physicians and surgeons comprise its staff. It maintains an outpatient department and is supported largely by contributions.

Saint Elizabeth's Hospital is in charge of the Sisters of the Third Order of Saint Francis and has been in existence since 1868. Except for a few paying patients it is entirely dependent upon charity. The hospital originally was located on West Brookline Street at the South End. In 1911 it was changed from a hospital for women to a general hospital. The present buildings, located on a prominent site in the Brighton section of Boston, were completed and occupied in 1914. His Eminence Cardinal O'Connell is very much interested in this important work, and through his efforts a large sum of money was raised to make it as up-to-date as possible. It has a nurses' school with about 100 pupils; a well equipped X-ray department, laboratory, orthopedic department and an accident ward. Its medical and surgical staff are skilful practitioners of wide reputation.

The Holy Ghost Hospital for Incurables owes its ex-

istence to the late Father Scully of Saint Mary's Church, Cambridge, who in 1893, for this purpose, deeded land to the Grey Nuns of Montreal. It was established in 1894 and offers 150 beds to incurables, without regard to race or creed. It is supported entirely by charity.

In the Home for Aged Poor, under the care of the Little Sisters of the Poor, one realizes that the spirit of the three little Sisters of Saint Malo has been faithfully transmitted, preserved untainted through more than eighty years of varying conditions.

The first regular Conference of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul in New England was that of Saint James' Church, which was organized by Archbishop Williams, then pastor of that church, on July 22, 1861. There had been an isolated gathering of men calling themselves a Conference at an earlier date in Boston, but no record of their work is available. The Holy Cross and Saint Peter and Paul Conferences were organized in 1864; Saint Mary's and the Immaculate Conception 1865; Gate of Heaven, Holy Redeemer, Saint Stephen's and Saint Patrick's in 1868. On December 5, 1865, a Particular Council was formed of the first three Conferences, with James Collins of Saint James' Conference as president. Four new Conferences were started in 1870; two in 1872, and two in 1874. Between 1876 and 1910 there were forty-three Conferences established, making a total in 1910 of sixty-one in Boston. At present there are 115 Conferences in the archdiocese.

In 1869 the Society became interested in the work of caring for abandoned infants, and aided by the Sisters of Charity at the Carney Hospital, developed in later years the Saint Mary's Infant Asylum. The Society from time to time acknowledged in their reports the generous aid given them by Protestant fellow citizens, notably the Boston Provident Association, in relieving distress among the poor. In 1880-1881, employment bureaus were opened, and

in 1883 permission was secured to arrange for the instruction of Catholic children in the charitable and penal institutions. Commencing at Deer Island, regular services and instructions were held. Sunday School work was established in 1883, and in 1886 sixteen Conferences, representing seventy members, took up this important work. As a result of a discussion on the cases of destitute children at one of the meetings in 1887, it was determined to employ an agent at the courts, police stations, or such other places where one might be needed. Archbishop Williams heartily endorsed this movement, and on March 1, 1888, the work was inaugurated.

Special work with immigrants was begun in 1895, the Charitable Irish Society bearing all the expenses. In September, 1900, the looking after discharged inmates from the Concord Reformatory and boys from the Parental School at West Roxbury was taken up. The unfortunates were visited by members of the various Conferences to place them where good influences would be felt. employment secured and to encourage them to lead better lives. This and other kindred work so increased that it was found necessary to form the Committee of Our Lady of Ransom, which was divided into three sections, one having charge of court cases, another the cases of all children in and out of office, and the other having charge of the discharged inmates from the Reformatory and Parental School.

The Society of Saint Vincent de Paul is the only Catholic organization in Massachusetts that has representation in the courts in the interest of children. After the Juvenile Court was established in Massachusetts in 1906, it was imperative that a female Catholic agent be present at its sessions, as some children were being placed in the care of those not of their Faith. Competent women were at once employed to look after the interests of Catholic girls brought within the jurisdiction of the court.

In 1893 the Society sent an exhibit of charts and books illustrating its work to the World's Fair at Chicago, for which it received a medal from the commissioners.

"Here in Boston for one hundred years," said his Eminence Cardinal O'Connell, "quietly, as is her wont, the Church has been, must always be, the tender nurse of the unfortunate, the loving mother of all those whom the world abandons. The Faith of Christ is no sterile formula. It lives and works, and its work is constant and never tiring. The spark of human sympathy flutters, blazes and dies. The flame of Christian Charity, lighted by the torch of Faith, burns steadily and never dies, nor ever will."

One of the most important educational institutions in the Archdiocese of Boston is Saint John's Seminary at Brighton, devoted to the training of young men who are destined for the work of the priesthood. When Archbishop Williams decided in 1875 to establish a diocesan seminary he purchased the present location on Lake Street, Brighton, consisting of forty-six acres, and turned to the Society of Saint Sulpice for his corps of professors, having received his own training under their direction at Paris. The first Superior was the Reverend John B. Hogan, or Abbé Hogan, as he was better known, an ecclesiastic of international fame. He was born in Ireland, was educated in France, and for thirty years was connected with the Sulpician Seminary at Paris. He remained at the Seminary at Brighton six years, until its success was well established. A long line of distinguished men have succeeded him in its direction.

One of the monuments of the loyalty of the clergy and laity of the Archdiocese of Boston is the system of free schools established during the past two generations. They are housed in structures which compare favorably with the best that modern architects could design, and they afford accommodations for thousands of pupils. The schools are taught by especially trained Sisters of teaching

communities, Brothers and a large number of lay teachers. Many of the Sisters are enrolled in Emmanuel College, taking advanced studies to aid in their educational work. The executive management of the schools falls on the pastors of the various parishes, who act in a capacity similar to that of the principals of the public schools, with the added responsibility for much of the financial and business care of the institutions. The courses of instruction in the parochial correspond very nearly to those in the public schools, and the curriculum is prescribed by the Massachusetts State Board of Education and by the Boston School Committee. In the development of its educational institutions the Archdiocese of Boston now ranks third, in matters of school attendance, in the United States. Only New York and Chicago have surpassed it.

The first Catholic School in Boston was founded by Bishop Cheverus in 1820, and was taught by the Ursuline Nuns, brought over from Ireland by Father John Thayer, a convert from Congregationalism, who was particularly active in urging his project. He collected much of the money which made it an actuality from Catholics in Ireland. This was the only Catholic school in New England until 1826, when Bishop Fenwick established a second one for boys and girls and introduced the Sisters of Charity from Emmitsburg as instructors. Three years later still another, a classical school for boys, was opened, where Bishop Fenwick and his clergy acted as tutors. Later this school became Holy Cross Seminary, a boarding and day school for the education of young men studying for the Church. Archbishop Williams was a pupil at this school.

The first parochial school of the present type was established in 1859 in Saint Mary's parish at the North End of Boston. From the time of the establishment of this school the movement was gradual until 1878, when it took on new vigor with the introduction of the Sisters

of Saint Joseph by Monsignor Thomas Maginnis. Thenceforward the development has been consistent and rapid.

In 1922, about 75,000 children were attending the parish schools at a cost of approximately $1,000,000 a year. The cost of instruction is far below that of the public schools. In the Boston Archdiocese there are 111 Parochial and High Schools. The higher education of girls has not been neglected, for the Sisters of Notre Dame have established, in the Fenway, Emmanuel College, for the education of young women, where in 1923 the first class was graduated.

For the education of young men there is Boston College, an institution that ranks very high, which owes its inception to Father John McElroy, S. J., who was connected with Saint Mary's Church at the North End. With the purpose of establishing a college of higher studies for the members of the Society of Jesus, he purchased a strip of land on Harrison Avenue on August 1, 1857. Here a suitable building was erected and a Scholasticate of the Society of Jesus was opened. In 1863 this Scholasticate was transferred to Georgetown, District of Columbia, and in the buildings left vacant, an institution of higher learning was inaugurated and called Boston College. By an act of the Massachusetts Legislature on May 25, 1863, Boston College was granted the necessary power of conferring collegiate degrees. The first classes were organized September 5, 1864, with an enrollment of twenty-two students. From the lowly beginnings of 1864, a greater Boston College, after fifty years passed in the old buildings on Harrison Avenue, has evolved. It is housed in an imposing group of buildings on University Heights, Newton, one of the most perfect examples of Gothic architecture in the United States, on a site unrivalled for picturesqueness and peculiarly suited to collegiate and classical ideals. There happily was begun the second era of its existence in the field of advanced practical and cultural education.

Young men deprived of advanced education in the city have been ably looked after since the Young Men's Catholic Association of Boston opened its evening classes, which from the beginning have shown a steady growth in numbers. Beginning with an attendance of sixty-five in 1910, they had increased in 1922 to over 2000 pupils. All subjects are taught, advanced and elementary, languages, mathematics, accounting, ethics, philosophy, in fact all courses to be had in the best schools conducted under other auspices.

# CATHOLIC NEW YORK

THOMAS F. MEEHAN

THE title deed of Catholic New York, dates from April, 1524. The first white man sailing into the great bay that forms the port of the nation's metropolis was the Catholic Italian, Giovanni da Verrazano, master of the caravel Dauphin, sent by King Francis I, of France, to find a route to the Spice Islands in the Malay Archipelago that would be shorter than that through the Southern strait discovered by Magellan. Henry Hudson and his Dutch Halve Maen did not arrive in the same waters until eighty-five years later. What is now called Sandy Hook, Verrazano named Cape of Saint Mary and the river he placed under the patronage of Saint Antony, as we know from Maiollo's map, drawn three years later.

> We discovered a very delightful place among sand hills, he tells us in his official report; eminences, between which ran a very great river to the ocean, which was deep within to the mouth. . . . We took the boat and entered the river within the country where we found it to be thickly habited. . . . We entered the said river within the country about half a league where we saw it formed a most beautiful lake. . . . We departed from this region with much displeasure on account of its extent and attractiveness, for we believed that it was not without some resources of wealth.

This speculation prompts one to wonder what the sixteenth century sea-rover would say of the change the present day skyline of Manhattan Island offers to that he viewed from the deck of his caravel. He made a landing somewhere near what is now Rockaway Beach, Long Island. The late Reverend Doctor Morgan J. Dix, rector of the Protestant Episcopal Trinity Church, a standard authority on this period of American history, writing of Verrazano's voyage says:

> Whether any one of the priestly order accompanied Verrazano on this voyage cannot be positively affirmed; it is altogether likely; indeed, it would be next to impossible that this should not have been the case. Religious services of some kind or other were undoubtedly held while his ship lay in the port which he has so accurately described; for he says elsewhere of the natives: "They are very easily persuaded and imitated us with earnestness and fervor in all they saw us do in our act of worship."

A Catholic, therefore, was the first European discoverer to set foot on the soil of the Empire State, and from a Catholic altar went up the first prayer uttered within its boundaries. This was in the limits of what is now one of the greatest cities of the world and of the Diocese of Brooklyn, one of the most important ecclesiastical units of the Church in the United States.

The Jesuit martyr, Father Isaac Jogues, was the first priest to traverse the colony of New York, which, after the arrival of Hudson, was dominated by the Calvinistic Hollanders, who rescued (1634) this heroic missionary from his Mohawk captors. When Father Jogues arrived on Manhattan Island, in the Summer of that year, he found only two Catholics, a young Irishman and a Portuguese woman. There are now more than 2,000,000 Catholics in New York City alone, and a summarized table for the seven diocesan divisions (1922) of the State affords another remarkable contrast:

| | Priests | Churches | Schools | Pupils in Schools | Catholic Population |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| New York | 599 | 1,141 | 270 | 176,000 | 1,473,291 |
| Brooklyn | 255 | 587 | 145 | 78,082 | 821,337 |
| Albany | 201 | 271 | 102 | 23,321 | 215,412 |
| Buffalo | 240 | 473 | 185 | 70,000 | 342,000 |
| Rochester | 153 | 224 | 73 | 27,228 | 185,876 |
| Ogdensburg | 162 | 160 | 57 | 5,382 | 100,600 |
| Syracuse | 161 | 137 | 46 | 18,471 | 173,200 |
| | 1771 | 2993 | 878 | 398,484 | 3,311,716 |

Father Jogues in one of his letters dated 1643 records that he found eighteen different languages spoken on Manhattan Island.

After his rescue by the Dutch commander, Van Corlear, from his Mohawk captors, who had mutilated and tortured him and barbarously killed his companion, René Goupil, Father Jogues stayed in New York a short time and then sailed for Europe on November 5, 1643. He was received with great honor in France in recognition of his sufferings and the heroism he had displayed during his labors, but refused to remain there and returned to the missions in Canada in the following Spring. He worked two years at Montreal, after which, accompanied by an assistant named John Lalande, he set out again to labor for the conversion of the Mohawks. These Indians seized the two men and carried them to their village of Ossernenon, New York, where they were compelled to endure fiendish torture. Father Jogues was killed on October 18, 1864, and Lalande on the day following. Their heads were spiked on the palisades of the village and their bodies thrown into the Mohawk River. The place where they were slain has been identified as the present Auriesville, Montgomery County, and is now a shrine visited by great numbers of pious pilgrims. The Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1884, petitioned Rome for the canonization of Father Jogues and the process has since been formally advanced.

With Father Jogues it is hoped that the honors of the altar will be accorded his lay disciple and fellow martyr, René Goupil; and New York has a third candidate for canonization in the "Lily of the Mohawks," the Indian maiden, Kateri Tekakwitha, whose extraordinary sanctity made her famous not only among her own people, but also among the French habitants and the missionaries. On her tomb by the Lachine Rapids of the St. Lawrence was placed this inscription: "Kateri Tekakwitha, April 17, 1680. The fairest flower that ever bloomed among the redmen."

The Jesuit missionaries, Father Claude Dablon and Pierre Chaumont, began on November 18, 1655, on the banks of the lake where the City of Syracuse now stands

the first rude chapel in which Mass was said in the State of New York and which they dedicated as Saint Mary's. In the same year another Jesuit, Father Simon Le Moyne, journeyed from Canada to Manhattan, as we learn from a letter written to the Dutch Classis at Amsterdam by the famous preacher, Dominie Megapolensis (who was a renegade Catholic), "on account of the Papists residing here, and especially for the accommodation of the French sailors who are Papists and who have arrived here with a good prize."

No Catholic foothold, however, was made in New York nor was public worship tolerated until it became the Duke of York's English colony after 1664. His Catholic Governor, Thomas Dongan, arrived on Manhattan Island on August 25, 1683, and the next day, Sunday, his chaplain, the Jesuit Father Thomas Harvey, celebrated in a room of the Governor's quarters in the fort at the end of the island (where the United States Custom House now stands) the first known Mass to be offered up in the present New York City. A bronze tablet placed in the corridor of the Custom House by the Knights of Columbus in 1912 commemorates this event.

As its presiding officer and controlling genius, Thomas Dongan convened, on October 14, 1683, at the fort in New York, the first representative assembly of the province. There were twenty-eight delegates. They remained in session three weeks and passed fifteen acts, the most important of which were the one entitled the Charter of Liberties; that dividing the Province into shires and counties; that providing for the naturalization of foreigners and that settling the courts of justice. It was here, for the first time in American history, that the right was asserted of the people to govern themselves and that the supreme legislative authority "shall forever be and reside in a Governor, Council and the people met in General Assembly." The principle which Governor Dongan and this body enunciated

became the controlling idea of our State and Federal Governments. The assembly also proclaimed the right of religious liberty, right of suffrage, no taxation without representation and the law of real property.

Dongan's system naturally developed into the present State government. He established a postoffice in New York in 1685, and the charter he granted to the City of New York remained unchanged during 135 years. The Jesuit Fathers Harvey, Gage and Harrison, at his instigation, started a college, for the support of which he directed the King's Farm (now the site of Trinity Church, Broadway and Wall Street) be set aside. The sons of the leading men of the colony, Catholic and non-Catholic, attended it. He planned, as an offset to the French influence from Canada, that a mission house of English Jesuits be established at Saratoga and a settlement of Irish Catholics be made in the centre of the province.

With the change of government in England all these beneficent measures were vetoed, Dongan was driven from the colony and a long era of religious persecution for Catholics in New York began and lasted until after the Revolution. The provincial legislature, from time to time, passed the most drastic laws against Catholic priests and teachers, and the generally hostile state of public opinion may be judged from the fact that the first flag raised by the Sons of Liberty in New York, during the Revolution, was inscribed "No Popery." Savage and malignant as were the enactions and the anti-Catholic spirit of the time, it is a mitigation of their character to know now that the political and economic factors of the long contest between England and France on both sides of the Atlantic were mainly the basis of the whole situation.

During this period, in spite of all this, a few adherents of the Faith drifted in and settled down unobtrusively: seawaifs, Spanish Negroes from the West Indies and some of the unfortunates of the 7000 Acadians whom British bar-

barity had driven in exile from the Land of Evangeline. To minister to them, the zealous Jesuit Father Ferdinand Steinmayer (commonly called "Father Farmer") occasionally travelled from Philadelphia to New York (1752-1786) and said Mass wherever accommodation could be found. When the Revolution ended and President Washington and the members of Congress were residing in New York, Father Farmer had in this scattering congregation less than 200 souls, and of these only about forty were practical in the observance of their Faith.

It is a curious fact that it was due to one of the most noted of the backsliders, the French consul, Hector St. John de Crévecœur, that the organization of New York's first Catholic congregation is due. With the Spanish Minister, Don Diego de Gardoqui, the Portuguese consul, Don José Ruiz Silva, Dominick Lynch, Thomas Stoughton, James Steward and Henry Ruffin, he secured property at the corner of Barclay and Church Streets owned by the Trinity Parish, on which Saint Peter's, the first permanent structure for a Catholic Church in the State of New York, was erected, the cornerstone being laid by the Spanish minister on October 5, 1785. The church was opened on November 4, 1786, and its first resident pastor was the Reverend Charles Whelan, an Irish Capuchin, who had been a chaplain on one of the ships sent over by France under command of Admiral De Grasse to aid the Revolution. Although the Cathedral in Baltimore has been the scene of many more imposing ceremonials, Saint Peter's Church, New York, is the most historic foundation of the Church in the United States by reason of the influence that subsequently radiated from New York throughout the whole country. The first native to be admitted to the priesthood, the Reverend James A. O'Neill, was born in the parish on December 4, 1798, and ordained a Jesuit priest in 1828. The first native New Yorker to become a secular priest, on June 12, 1834, was John McCloskey, later second Archbishop of New York and

the first American Cardinal. He was born in Brooklyn on March 10, 1810, but spent most of his boyhood in Saint Peter's parish.

An episode that has a unique character in the records of the State is found in the official documents of the State Library at Albany, namely: the flying of the Papal flag on a ship in New York harbor in July, 1757. The occasion was the court proceedings in the demand of Captain Lorenzo Ghiglino for the return to him of his ship Nuestra Señora de la Conception, Y. S. Ignatio de Loyola of 470 tons burden and her cargo, which had been seized by two New York privateers while on a voyage from Cadiz, Spain, to Santo Domingo and taken as a prize into the port of New York. The captain's memorial to the admiralty court recites that he "is a Genoese by Birth and by Act of Naturalization became a Subject of the Pope of Rome" and that when challenged by the privateers on the high sea he "hoisted the Pope's Colours, the ship sailing under the Pope's pass." There was a protracted legal proceeding, during which the value of the cargo was officially placed at $15,750. The captain compounded his claims with his captors for a restoration of a three and a fifth part of the cargo, a payment of £6,930 for himself and £1,645 to Francis Xavier de Los Rios, the merchant for whom he carried the freight. His ship was restored to him reloaded with lumber and on February 26, 1759, he received a permit to sail back to Hispaniola. He took back a number of French prisoners who had been exchanged. It is the only instance in the records of the port of the appearance there of the "Pope's flag" on a ship.

These privateers landed in New York a number of French and Spanish prisoners and among the latter free blacks from the West Indies and other Latin American settlements, who were usually sold into slavery. Between 1701 and 1726 it is estimated that 1573 slaves were conveyed to New York from the West Indies. During April

and March, 1741, the people became hysterical over an alleged "popish plot" to burn the city and slaughter the inhabitants during a Negro uprising. Before the mania subsided four white men were hanged and eleven Negroes were burned at the stake. Among these victims was Juan de Sylva, a Spanish Negro, who was hanged on August 15, 1741. Judge Horsmanden, who presided at the trial of these "conspirators," later compiled a history of this "Negro Plot," in which he describes Sylva's execution and says he "behaved decently, prayed in Spanish, kissed a crucifix, insisting on his innocence to the last." In the preface to the second edition of this book ("The New York Conspiracy: or a History of the Negro Plot," New York, 1744) it is stated that at the time "a holy hatred of the Roman Catholic was inculcated by Church and State."

When the new republic of the United States was established there was a slow change for the better. The first Constitution of New York State provided for general religious liberty, but the Legislature excluded priests and ministers from legislative offices and made a test-oath that would prevent Catholics from holding them. This was repealed in 1806, when Francis Cooper, one of the leading members of Saint Peter's congregation, was elected a member of assembly from New York City, the first Catholic to hold elective public office in the government of the State.

At the convention held in March, 1777, to frame the State Constitution, John Jay gave one of the evidences of this malevolent bigotry that has made his name forever odious to New York Catholics by proposing to the section ensuring religious liberty "to all mankind," this amendment:

> Except the professors of the religion of the Church of Rome, who ought not to hold lands in or be admitted to participation of the civil rights enjoyed by the members of this State until such time as the said professors shall appear in the Supreme Court of this State and there most solemnly swear that they verily believe in their consciences that no Pope or priest or foreign authority on earth hath power to

absolve the subjects of this State from their allegiance to the same.

After a long debate, this was rejected by a vote of nineteen to ten. In 1806 the Legislature repealed a test-oath act requiring aliens to renounce allegiance to "every foreign king, prince, potentate and state, in all matters ecclesiastical as well as civil" which Jay had woven into the Constitution on April 1, 1777. This was the oath Francis Cooper refused to take.

The Catholic body in New York gradually increased in numbers and influence after the Revolution. Political troubles in France drove to our country many representatives of the old nobility. The opening up to settlement of the Indian and State lands along the northern border and in the interior of the State was made the occasion for the exploiting abroad by speculative companies, especially in France, of numerous schemes that were expected to attract colonists to begin here a "new France," safe from the disasters of the social and political upheavals of the old world. Several splendid mansions, some of which still survive, were erected in this then wilderness where the *seigneurs* lived in imitation feudal splendor; but these schemes all failed after a brief period, and no Catholic progress was made through them. Neither did anything permanent come from the settlement in the Mohawk Valley of Catholic Scotch Highlanders, who were Tories during the Revolution. After its triumph they went into the Canadian territory.

In 1797 there were enough Catholics at Albany, the old Fort Orange of the Dutch régime, to warrant the starting of a church for a congregation of Irish and French residents. The first meeting was held in the house of James Cassidy, whose grandson, William Cassidy, was later the famous editor of the Albany *Argus* and long an influential factor in New York State politics. This church was called Saint Mary's, and as there was no priest at hand, the

cornerstone was laid by Thomas Barry, one of the trustees. It was opened in the following year for the ministrations of such priests as could casually visit Albany in their mission rounds. It was then the only Catholic church between Saint Peter's, New York and Saint Anne's, Detroit. One of the French members of the first congregation was Count de la Tour de Pin and his wife, a daughter of Count Arthur Dillon, the last commander of the historic Irish Brigade. The Count after serving in the army of Washington under Rochambeau returned to France and was guillotined during the Terror.

The Diocese of New York was created on April 8, 1808, and included the whole State within its limits. The first bishop, the Right Reverend Richard Luke Concanen, a Dominican, was consecrated in Rome, but died in Italy before taking charge of his see. During the subsequent vacancy of six years, the administration of the diocese was in the hands of the Jesuit Father Anthony Kohlmann, one of the great men of the restored Society. Under his guidance the spread of the Faith was steady. He opened New York's first Catholic college and built Saint Patrick's (old) Cathedral, then one of the architectural wonders of the country, as is also its Gothic successor on Fifth Avenue. Conversions of many prominent non-Catholics were made, among them Mrs. Eliza Ann Seton, who later founded the American branch of the Sisters of Charity, that wonderful organization of women whose five great divisions now have thousands of members, the foundation and mainstay of the Catholic educational system and the zealous promoters of so large a portion of our philanthropic, charitable and welfare work.

To Father Kohlmann was also due the embodiment into the organic law of the State of the principle, afterwards adopted all over the Republic, that no priest or minister can be called upon to testify in a public tribunal as to facts known to him only by virtue of his sacred office. Father

Kohlmann had made restitution for a penitent, through the confessional, of stolen goods and when summoned in court to disclose the source of his information refused to answer. After a long trial of the issue his action was upheld by the court. This was in March, 1813, and in 1828 the State Legislature, under Governor De Witt Clinton, who had been the judge before whom Father Kohlmann's case was argued, enacted a law which rules that "no minister of the Gospel or priest of any denomination whatsoever shall be allowed to disclose any confession made to him in his professional character, in the course of discipline enjoined by the rules or practice of such denomination." This was the first time such a law was enacted in any State and it has since been adopted by all.

The college that Father Kohlmann started was called the New York Literary Institution and he began it in Mulberry Street, opposite old Saint Patrick's Cathedral. It was after a short time removed into the suburbs to the village of Elgin, in March, 1810, where it flourished four years and was then closed because of the inability of the superiors to supply enough Jesuit teachers to keep it up to the standards required for such a college. The property was devoted to several uses until November 5, 1828, when the trustees of old Saint Patrick's purchased it for a cemetery at a cost of $5500. This first college site is now the block bounded by Fifth and Fourth Avenues, Fiftieth and Fifty-first Streets and occupied by Saint Patrick's Cathedral, built 1858-1879. The price paid for the land by Father Kohlmann in 1810 was $11,000. On it was a spacious mansion, which he used for the Literary Institution. From this it can be seen how false is the oft-repeated statement that this now immensely valuable property was a gift to the Church from the city government. It was bought from private owners and has been in uninterrupted possession of the ecclesiastical authorities since 1810, as the deeds recorded in the Public Registry plainly prove.

With the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825, and the era of railroad building that followed came the great waves of European immigration that carried thousands of Catholics into all sections of the State. A large proportion of these remained in the cities and shared in the prosperity that soon placed New York in the foremost rank of the national confederation. Their success and attainment to social and political influence had the result of engendering the envy and resentment of a hostile element that secretly organized to disfranchise and exclude all Catholics from public office on the plea that they could not be loyal to the Republic. The growth and malevolence of Knownothingism and Native Americanism is properly treated with more detail elsewhere in these volumes, but the anti-Catholic attitude adopted by the general community was aptly described by Archbishop Hughes, in an address delivered by him at a banquet in Liverpool on June 10, 1851. After noting the shocking outrages committed against convents, churches, priests, Sisters and Catholic laymen, he added: "These things were the work of what is called mobs; but we confess our disappointment at not having witnessed a prompt and true American sentiment in the heart of the community at large in rebuttal of such proceedings, and so far as reparation was possible, in making it to the injured parties whom they had failed to protect."

In answer to the assumption that Catholic ecclesiastics have the management of the political consciences of their flocks, Archbishop Hughes, in a letter written on February 6, 1858, to Cassius M. Clay, one of the founders of the Republican Party, said:

> My own principles are that the American people are able in their own way to manage their affairs of State without any guidance or instruction toward any class or religious denomination by either priests or parsons . . .
>
> As for myself, I never influenced a human being, Catholic or Protestant, as to the party to which he might think proper to attach himself in his capacity as a voting citizen. I never voted but once in my life and that vote was cast

> nearly thirty years ago in favor of your illustrious namesake —and, I believe, relative—"Harry of the West." He was, in my estimation, a statesman as well as an orator, and I voted the more readily because my congregation were in the main opposed to him and some of them had almost threatened me on account of my good opinion of him as a man much calumniated, but of whom, as statesman and orator, his country might well be proud.
>
> You can easily perceive by all this that the Catholics vote as individuals in the proper exercise of their franchise, but without any direction from their clergy, so far at least as has ever come under my knowledge, and certainly so far as the clergy under my own jurisdiction is concerned.

The Civil War killed much of the anti-Catholic prejudice then rife. The great services Archbishop Hughes rendered the country during that era of national peril and the prominent part Catholic New York took then under his leadership, are definitely treated in the special contribution devoted to him and printed in another part of these records. Of him it has been said: "that a man who has obtained so great a mastery over his fellow-men must have greatness in him." De Courcey in his survey of the Church in the United States declared:

> No prelate of the Catholic Church has ever attained in the United States a position such as his: with a singular talent for unravelling at a glance the intrigues and movements of political men and of foreseeing the results of public measures and agitations, his writings are ever timely, profound and convincing.

The leading position in the affairs of the Church in the United States that New York attained under Archbishop Hughes has since been retained. On the great question of Catholic education it was New York that sounded the keynote of no compromise, and the whole nation has followed that programme and watched with admiration the heroic struggle made throughout the State in defense of that principle. The laws safeguarding Church property are the models for elsewhere and the munificence of the New York charities are the wonder and joy of all who appreciate real philanthropy.

The development of the diocesan organization of the Church in New York followed the gradual increase of its membership in the various sections of the State. The bishops who were appointed to rule the new sees proved themselves men of progress and of notable executive capacity and ecclesiastical fervor, as the statistical results plainly indicate. Buffalo was created a diocese on April 23, 1847; Brooklyn, early in 1853; Rochester on January 24, 1868; Ogdensburg on February 15, 1872, and Syracuse on November 20, 1886. In every walk of life Catholic laymen have attained distinguished careers. In the central section of the State during the formative period, the City of Rome was founded by Dominick Lynch, who purchased an immense tract of land, which he first called Lynchville. He was a wealthy merchant of New York City, where he was one of the organizers of Saint Peter's, the pioneer parish of the State. When George Washington was inaugurated first President Lynch was one of the four laymen who signed the address of congratulation presented to Washington on behalf of the Catholics of the United States. His son, Dominick Lynch, Jr., was also a New York merchant and a leader of the social and fashionable circle of his time. It was he who brought the first Italian opera company, the Garcia troupe, to this country. It crossed the ocean at his instance in one of his ships, and, under his patronage gave the first performance of Italian opera ever heard in the United States, at the Park Theatre, New York, on November 19, 1825. The prima donna, the great Madame Malibran, sang her first notes on this side of the Atlantic in Dominick Lynch's residence, No. 1 Greenwich Street. During her stay in New York she was married in Saint Peter's Church, Barclay Street, and the register there shows the name of Dominick Lynch as one of the witnesses to the ceremony.

The opera first sung was Mozart's "Il Barbiere" and the author of its libretto, Lorenzo da Ponte, was one of the audience. He was the first Italian instructor at Columbia

University and the first exponent of the treasures of Dante in this country.

About this time also, in April, 1825, the second Catholic weekly paper started in the United States, the *Truth Teller,* was issued in New York at the inspiration of the Reverend Doctor John Power, pastor of Saint Peter's Church, Barclay Street. It might be said that then began the dedication of a major part of this short thoroughfare to its mission of the dissemination of Catholic literature and the supplying of Church goods and the many incidental material details of Catholic worship. From an inconsequential beginning the business centred there has, during the years of the intervening century, grown to great proportions with ramifications all over the world. There is no section of the globe now in which "Barclay Street" is not known and from which supplies for its activities do not come in greater or less proportion. Nearly all the names of the men famous in local Catholic annals are identified with its progress: Power, Levins, Schneller, Varela, O'Conor, Macneven, Pise, Doyle, Donigan, Sadlier, O'Shea, Hecker, Kehoe, Anderson, Ives, Meline, McCarthy, Hassard, Nelligan, Brownson. One of the leading concerns, Benziger Brothers, can make the boast that it is being carried on in uninterrupted succession by the fifth generation of the family of the man who founded the concern in 1792 in Einsielden, Switzerland. The New York house was opened in 1853. Another firm, P. J. Kenedy & Sons, started in 1826, shows the third generation successfully conducting the business. No other street in New York has this unique trade distinction.

The brothers John C. and Nicholas Devereaux came here from Ireland in 1813 with James Kernan, founder of the family of that name, and located in the vicinity of the City of Utica. The Devereauxs were foremost in every good work. They, even as early as 1825, imported plates from Dublin and had a Bible printed for the use of their fellow

Catholics. They were also largely instrumental in raising the fund by which the North American College, Rome, for the education of American ecclesiastical students was started. James Kernan's son, Francis Kernan, was the noted statesman and lawyer who, as the Democratic candidate for Governor of New York in 1872, was defeated mainly because he was a Catholic. He served later with distinction as United States Senator from 1876 to 1882.

The great honor of having the first American Cardinal was given to New York and to a native son by the elevation to the Sacred College in 1875, of the gentle, polished, amiable John McClosky, second Archbishop of the see. A like distinction came to the city and State again in November, 1911, with the choice for the same exalted office, as Cardinal McClosky's successor, of the Most Reverend John M. Farley, fourth Archbishop.

The first Catholic Governor of New York was Martin H. Glynn, who was elected Lieutenant Governor in 1912 and succeeded to the higher office in August, 1913, when William J. Sulzer was removed after impeachment proceedings. The first member of the Faith chosen Governor was Alfred E. Smith, 1919-1920. He was also the first to be a formal candidate for the Presidency of the United States. At the Democratic National Convention in the campaign of 1920 he was put in nomination and received 108 votes in several ballots.

How conspicuously the record of Catholic New York stands out in the chronicle of the great World War it is unnecessary to detail. The great training camps of the Expeditionary Forces at which so many thousands prepared for embarkation were centres of Catholic activity. The Chaplains' Welfare League had its headquarters in New York and Archbishop Hayes, then the auxiliary of the see, was appointed by the Pope the Chaplain Bishop, with jurisdiction over all Catholic ecclesiastics at work in both the Army and the Navy.

St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York City

"Surely our patriotism has stood the acid test of trial," said the late Cardinal Farley, writing of "Catholics and the War" (*America*, March 2, 1918). "Is there a single thing that Catholics could do for their country which they have not done? Can a simple field be named where their work does not testify to their loyalty? . . . Those deeds have answered for us in no uncertain voice. It could not be otherwise. For the Catholic recognized that loyalty to country is next to fidelity and obedience to God."

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# CATHOLICISM IN PHILADELPHIA

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THERE is a recurring fashion in literature, when it is desired to picture the state of a country, to imagine the visit of some inhabitant of a celestial planet or of some fabulous potentate from central Asia. Were the City of Philadelphia to be visited by a citizen of Mars or by a Tartar Khan, his first walk about the streets of the metropolis would bring him in touch with Catholicism. He could proceed but a very short distance without encountering one of the 114 Catholic churches of the city. He would soon notice men in the characteristic garb of the priest, of whom he would learn that there are 807 in the city and its environs, united under a chief, known as an Archbishop, who at the present time, holds the rank of Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church. Women in still more distinctive dress would be pointed out as nuns, members of various religious Sisterhoods, numbering 3650 in the territory indicated above. These are the teachers of the 103,517 children in the 178 parish schools of the ecclesiastical Diocese of Philadelphia. Others of these religious women, our visitor would be informed, cared for the sick in the five Catholic hospitals of the city; others had charge of orphaned or otherwise destitute children in half a dozen Catholic orphanages; yet others ministered to the aged poor, to fallen women, to crippled children, and to deaf-mutes. The activities of these priests and Sisters, coupled with those of certain men united in religious brotherhoods, represent the functioning of the Catholic third or more in the population of a city of 1,823,-779. (Census of 1920.)

Leaving our civis Martialis or Genghis Khan to wander

about the streets of present day Philadelphia, let us unfold the scroll of Clio to trace the origin and development of Catholicism in the Quaker City. There is no evidence of the old Faith in the Swedish settlement which antedates the coming of William Penn in 1682. There was no Catholic colonist on the good ship Welcome, though there is record of one unnamed "Papist" brought over by Pastorius, the founder of Germantown, the year after the coming of Penn. Among the original purchasers of land in Penn's colony, we find a certain J. Gray *alias* Tatham, "a Roman Catholic gentleman of London." Peter Dubuc, who died in 1693, ranks with the pioneer Catholics, probably a lone adherent of the Church in the settlement of French Huguenots in that now labyrinthine section of Philadelphia known as Francisville. Small in numbers, the original Catholics were men of comparative wealth and standing, whose influence upon their fellow colonists was strong enough to make converts even in those unsympathetic days, as instanced by the conversion of one Lionel Brittin, "a church-warden," who was received into the Church about 1707 to the scandal of good Anglicans.

The outstanding clause in the charter of William Penn is that which guaranteed religious liberty. The other British colonies were far less liberal. Where toleration was granted at all it usually, as in the case of New Jersey, extended freedom of worship to all "except 'Papists'." Penn was in consequence, accused of being himself a "Papist" or a Jesuit in disguise and attempts were made to have his charter overthrown and royal rule set up in Pennsylvania with the establishment of the Church of England and the enforcement in the colony of the anti-Catholic penal laws of the mother country. Hence it was that in Penn's colony alone of all the territory under the English flag, Catholics had the free exercise of their religion and the "scandal of the Mass" could be publicly performed.

Whatever conjectures may be made concerning the

identity of the first priest who ministered to the Catholics of Philadelphia, the Jesuit Father Joseph Greaton (1679-1753) was the first who took definite charge of the missions of Pennsylvania, setting up in 1732 a permanent chapel which was the predecessor of old Saint Joseph's of Willing's Alley. Another of the pioneer priests of the colony was Father Ferdinand Farmer (1720-1786), also a Jesuit, who made definite impression on the general life of the community, his intellectual attainments gaining for him membership in the Philosophical Society and numbering him among the trustees of the University of Pennsylvania. Father Robert Harding, S. J., who founded Saint Mary's in 1763, won the esteem of men of all creeds, being, as his obituary has it, "a gentleman, who, in the integrity of his life and exemplary conversation, is greatly lamented."

Catholic loyalty was indeed questioned during England's war with Spain in the eighteenth century as well as during her series of conflicts with France, because the "Papists" were of the same faith as the national enemy and again because they were co-religionists of the Jacobite pretenders to the throne of England. But it was Catholic France which was to turn the tide and Catholic Spain which was to send money and supplies during the American War for Independence. Throughout the history of the republic whenever the cry of Catholic allegiance to a foreign potentate is raised as a criticism of the loyalty of Catholics to the flag, the ever-ready answer is to point the finger of truth to the battle-fields of the six great wars of our history and demand due credit for the Catholic blood which has crimsoned the stripes of the national emblem.

If Catholicism in Philadelphia and elsewhere owes its growth to immigration, to the same source does the nation and its municipalities owe their development. The first preponderantly Catholic immigration which came to Penn's colony was that from the German Palatinate. The first

Irish emigrants who came were largely Presbyterians, the Catholics being few in number and rather superior in fortune and education. The great influx of Catholic Irish *emigrés* was reserved for the period between 1830 and 1860 with the result that the Irish percentage in the population of the entire nation rose to about one-sixth. The great German immigration came in the years following 1848, the years of the formation of the German states. The French Acadians, all Catholic, sought refuge in Philadelphia in 1755, but half of their number perished in the plague and found graves in the Potter's Field. At the end of the eighteenth century, during the time of the French Revolution, great numbers emigrated from France and from Santo Domingo and were so cordially welcomed in the new United States that "Gallimania" became the reigning fad of the day.

With the tremendous development of industry following the Civil War, the demand for labor brought to the country the strong muscles and the willing arms of the sons of Southern Europe. During the past half-century, tens of thousands of Italians and nearly equal numbers of Poles and Slavs with a high percentage of Lithuanians have gone to Philadelphia. At the present day there are in the city twelve Catholic churches exclusively for Italians, while the same nationality predominates in at least half a dozen other parishes. Six churches are maintained for Polish Catholics and three minister to their Slavish co-religionists, who are grouped together under the inaccurate name of Hungarians. The Lithuanians are adherents of two parishes and several churches are devoted to Catholics of the Greek rite, mostly Galicians. The German Catholics have an even dozen national churches. The colored Catholics, who have been migrating from the South since the days of the Civil War, maintain three racial parishes.

A census of Catholics over twelve years of age, taken in Pennsylvania in 1747, reveals a total of 1365, of whom

949 were Germans. This number would scarcely equal the population of one of the smallest city parishes to-day. It would be interesting to trace decade by decade the increase in the numbers of Catholics in Philadelphia, but unfortunately it is not possible to do so with any accuracy. The population of the Diocese of Philadelphia up to 1843, the date of the creation of the See of Pittsburg, was scattered over the entire State of Pennsylvania and the southern and western portions of the State of New Jersey as well. The diocese was not reduced to its present area until the formation of the Dioceses of Scranton and Harrisburg in 1867, though the New Jersey territory had been surrendered to the new Diocese of Newark in 1852. Comparative statistics are further complicated by the fact that the present day Diocese of Philadelphia includes nine counties outside the city from which it takes its name, and moreover because the city itself did not attain its present area until 1853, when by the Act of Consolidation the original city of William Penn was united with various outlying districts to form a city coextensive with the County of Philadelphia. It may be pertinent, however, to quote the accurate statistics which represent the growth of the population of the area covered by the present City of Philadelphia, beginning with the 500 in 1683, which reached 4500 by the end of the seventeenth century, and over 80,000 after the adoption of the Constitution. By 1820, the population of this territory had passed the 200,000 mark and at the time of the consolidation of the city, referred to above, it had reached 529,838. At the beginning of the present century, the population of Philadelphia numbered 1,293,697.

Pennsylvania, with the other colonies of British North America, was originally under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Vicar Apostolic of London. When, because of the Revolutionary War, such an arrangement became awkward, in 1784 the Reverend John Carroll of Baltimore was invested with the quasi-episcopal powers of a prefect apostolic and

six years later he became the first American Bishop with his see at Baltimore. The year 1808 marks the establishment of Philadelphia as one of the suffragan dioceses of the newly-created metropolitan See of Baltimore. The first Bishop of Philadelphia, a Franciscan, Michael Egan, received episcopal consecration in 1810. His reign of less than four years was followed by a vacancy of six years, when the Vicar-General of Armagh, Ireland, Henry Conwell, was appointed. Bishop Conwell, in 1830, received a coadjutor in the person of the learned Francis Patrick Kenrick, who became Bishop of Philadelphia in 1842 and who died Archbishop of Baltimore. The rule of Bishop Kenrick was characterized by administrative ability which bore fruit in the increase in the number of parishes, in the establishment of a diocesan seminary, the inauguration of the parish school system, the inception of the Cathedral, and the codification of Church laws in the First Diocesan Synod of Philadelphia. Bishop Kenrick was succeeded by the saintly John Nepomucene Neumann, who will be remembered indeed for his development of parochial schools and for his introduction into this country of the devotion of the Forty Hours, but his outstanding claim to fame rests on the process of beatification and canonization which is now under way in the Congregation of Rites to raise him to the honors of the altar as a Saint of the Church. His tomb in Saint Peter's, Philadelphia, is already a place of pilgrimage for the diseased and otherwise afflicted. The crozier passed from the Venerable Bishop Neumann into the hands of James Frederick Wood, who had been his coadjutor.

Bishop Wood, a convert to the Faith, was the first native of the city to rule the Diocese of Philadelphia, as he was also the first of its ordinaries to receive the pallium of archiepiscopal rank when Philadelphia was raised to the dignity of a metropolitan see in 1875. The name of Archbishop Wood will ever be linked with the systematizing

of the temporal administration of the diocese and with the completion of the Cathedral and the erection of the new seminary at Overbrook, just outside the city limits. The second Archbishop of Philadelphia, Patrick John Ryan, who ruled the diocese for a quarter of a century beginning in 1884, made a greater impress on the life of the city than did any of his predecessors. His eloquence, his wit, his tact, and his engaging personality did much to win respect for the cause of Catholicism and to disarm the forces of bigotry. It was under his administration that the great expansion of the diocese due to Italian and Slavic immigration came. Upon the death of Archbishop Ryan in 1911, his Auxiliary Bishop, Edmond Francis Prendergast, succeeded to the see. The administrative policy of the first Archbishop was again emphasized and diocesan works increased in magnitude. If one monument may be singled out as memorial to Archbishop Prendergast's achievements we might well point to the city's most magnificent hospital, the Misericordia. The present head of the diocese combines the learning of Kenrick with the business ability of Wood and has brought to the city and to the diocese the distinction of Philadelphia's first Cardinal. Cardinal Dennis J. Dougherty's administration has crowded into four years the work of a decade and his vigor of mind and body augurs much for the future.

Attention has been already directed to the toleration of the open profession of the Catholic Faith in Penn's colony, where religious liberty bloomed as a rare flower on a hot-bed of intolerance. There were indeed protests against the "Papists" in colonial days and at sporadic intervals ever since. The most memorable outbreak of bigotry was the Native American or Know-Nothing riots of 1844, a rising against the Irish Catholic population, involving the burning of Saint Michael's Church and Convent, and Saint Augustine's Church and rectory with its valuable library, not to speak of the bloodshed and the frustrated

attacks on several other churches. The tolerant temper of the saner-minded citizens is evidenced by contemporary editorials in the press of the city, deprecating the lawless and shameless bigotry that had besmirched the fair name of Philadelphia.

The property of Saint Augustine's Church, which was destroyed by the rioters, had been turned over to the city as a public hospital for the plague-stricken sufferers of 1832. Nothing can appeal more strongly to fair-minded citizens than such public-spirited action. Thus the influence of the devoted ministrations of the priests during the plague of yellow-fever in 1793 and its subsequent outbreaks did much to win favor for Catholics. The same spirit of conciliation was nurtured by the undiscriminating ministrations of the Sisters of Charity during the epidemic of cholera in 1832 and by the work of the "Angels of the Battlefield" of Civil War days. A modern instance of the same unselfish service is furnished by the nuns who nursed the victims of the great plague of influenza in 1918.

In the field of organized charity, the Catholic Church has ever done beneficient work in Philadelphia. In 1808 Saint Joseph's Orphan Asylum was incorporated and Saint John's Orphanage was added in 1847. At the present time the nine Catholic orphan asylums in the city or its immediate environs house over 2150 children. Special institutions are maintained for crippled children, for deaf-mutes, and for colored boys and girls. There are, moreover, about 1500 children placed out in private homes under the supervision of the Catholic Children's Bureau. Provision for delinquent boys is made at the Philadelphia Protectory near Phoenixville and for girls at Saint Joseph's Protectory at Norristown. Two Houses of the Good Shepherd afford refuge for 266 unfortunate women sheltered without question of creed. There are three trade schools for industrious boys, while the Little Sisters of the Poor care for over 800 of the aged poor. Five hospitals, including an

institution for foundlings and a home for the convalescent, are conducted under Catholic auspices. Mention should be made also of the ten Catholic day nurseries, and of several settlement houses for welfare work among the Italians and guild houses for young women. Last, but by no means least, of the activities of Catholic charity is the Society of St. Vincent de Paul with branches in practically every parish for the relief of the poor in their own homes.

As care of the unfortunate and the handicapped is one evidence of civilization, so also is provision for the education of youth. Indeed, the first step in civilization is thought of the future of the individual and the race. Irish Catholic schoolmasters were among the early eighteenth century emigrants to the colony of Penn and in 1782, just a century after the coming of the founder, Saint Mary's Parish school was opened, the pioneer of the ninety-five parochial schools now within the city limits. Secondary education under Catholic auspices is furnished by two high schools for boys with an enrollment of 1205 pupils and a high school for girls with 1130 on the roll. La Salle College, directed by the Christian Brothers, and Saint Joseph's College, in the charge of the Jesuit Fathers, provide education for over 800 young men. A dozen academies are conducted by various Sisterhoods for the select training of young ladies and number non-Catholics as well as Catholics among their pupils. It is noteworthy that Philadelphia was a pioneer in the Summer School movement at Cliff Haven, New York, as well as in the establishment of a society for the preservation of the sources of American Catholic history.

To the "City Beautiful" Catholicism has contributed many churches of architectural excellence. The majestic domed Cathedral, the Gothic structure of Saint Edward's, the Byzantine temple dedicated to Saint Francis de Sales and Saint Patrick's with its Greco-Roman simplicity, are numbered among the artistic sights of the city. The Chapel of Divine Love, devoted to perpetual adoration of the

Blessed Sacrament, is an exquisite Gothic building, a kind of Quaker City *Sainte Chapelle.*

In the history of Philadelphia no Catholic name stands out with the prominence of a Benjamin Franklin or a Stephen Girard, though the latter was technically a Catholic by birth and baptism. Thomas FitzSimmons (1741-1811) held high rank among his fellow-citizens as a member of the First Continental Congress and of the legislature of the Confederacy, becoming also a member of the Constitutional Convention and of the first Congress of the United States. Conspicuous among the heroes of the War for Independence were that intrepid Irish Catholic, General Stephen Moylan, the friend and aide of George Washington, and Captain John Barry, whose exploits on the sea during the Revolution are inscribed in bright letters on the pages of American history. Mathew Carey (1761-1830), student of political economy and publicist, is eminent in the literary history of the early nineteenth century as a publisher of books. Joseph Bonaparte, for some years a resident of Philadelphia, and Madame Yturbide, the widow of the first Emperor of Mexico, long a devout member of Saint John's congregation, give a royal flavor to the roster of Catholics. Dr. Joseph Nancrede (1793-1857), said to have performed the first Cæsarian operation, must be rated among the famous physicians of the Quaker City. Though William Penn was not, as some of his traducers claimed, a " 'Papist' and a Jesuit in disguise," yet his great-great-grandson, Thomas Penn Gaskell, was received into the Church, as was also his wife, and both are buried in Saint John's Church-yard. The name of Mark Anthony Frenaye (1783-1873), who went to Philadelphia as a French refugee, looms large in the history of Catholicism in that city, as he was the confidential agent of four ordinaries of the diocese. The Willcoxes, the Keatings and the Eslings are old Philadelphia families whose members have made a continuous impress in the best circles

in town. To Charles A. Repplier (1804-1883) belongs the credit of the development of the Beneficial Savings Fund into one of the great financial institutions of the city, though the most prominent Catholic name in the banking world of Philadelphia is that of Francis A. Drexel (1824-1885), whose family has continued his generous support of religious and charitable works. George W. Edwards, Robert F. Walsh, Patrick Brady, and Robert Ewing are Catholic types of great merchants whose enterprise contributed to the commercial development of the city. William A. Stokes and William L. Hirst, and the son of the latter, Anthony A. Hirst, were among the Catholic lawyers whose career added lustre to the Philadelphia bar. No man was better known in his life-time than was Daniel Dougherty (1826-1892), the "silver-tongued orator," a lawyer of distinction, the nominator of two candidates for the Presidency, and a dramatic lecturer of national renown. Inscribed in large letters on the scroll of famous Philadelphians of the nineteenth century is the name of Joseph R. Chandler (1792-1880), a convert to the Faith at the time when he headed the Masonic fraternity of Pennsylvania, member of Congress for the decade following 1845, subsequently United States Minister at Naples, and representative at the London International Congress of 1872.

These few Catholic names have been adduced as instances of prominent individuals who have exercised a distinct influence on public life, but account must also be taken of that subtler influence of Catholicism, whose effects cannot so readily be catalogued, which is the silent working of the Catholic leaven upon the mass of the population. The Church, with its preaching of the supernatural, its insistence upon conservative dogma, and its upholding of an inalterable standard of morality, has exerted on the community a steadying influence, though the curve of its power cannot be diagrammed. The Catholic position on divorce, on race-suicide, and on religion, as an inalienable

Archbishop Patrick John Ryan

branch of education, has effects reaching far beyond the members of the Church. There is no organized Catholic political party nor any definite social organization of Catholics in Philadelphia, so that the leaven of the Church has been working through chaotic variations of race and paradoxical political and social affiliations. Like the Gospel leaven of which it is the realization, Catholicity has been largely hidden in the mass which it has fermented.

The attitude towards Catholics of those outside her fold in Philadelphia has been from colonial days one of toleration, and toleration it still remains. The opprobrious name of "Papist" is no longer the brand of a hunted people, yet tolerance and no higher level has been reached for the Catholic Church. While Catholics have held public office in Pennsylvania for a century and a half, since the election of Thomas FitzSimmons to the First Continental Congress, no member of that Faith has ascended the gubernatorial chair of the State, nor has any exercised the office of chief magistrate of Philadelphia. Minor positions they have held in the cabinet, both State and municipal; they have had seats on the bench and in the legislature and in City Council; individual Catholics have occasionally been dominant in the arena of political organization. The influence of Catholicism, however, has been none the less potent, though its prestige might have been much enhanced by the election of Catholics to supreme executive positions. The growth and prosperity of the Church in Philadelphia, due under Divine Providence, to the liberty of conscience guaranteed by William Penn, is a modern instance of the truth of the Gospel parable which likens the kingdom of heaven to the tiny grain of mustard seed which grows to the great tree in whose spreading branches the birds of the air build their nests.

# PIONEER CATHOLICS OF THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY

JOSEPH J. THOMPSON, ESQ.

THE earliest permanent foundation of the Catholic Church in the territory now within the borders of the United States was in Mid-America, the country of the Illini, the valley of the Mississippi. It is, perhaps, true that the belief obtains in many quarters that Florida, or New Mexico, or California, or Maine, or New York, or even Maryland, one or all, are entitled to priority and primacy in that regard over the Illinois country. If, however, the claims of each of those be examined with care it will be found that, while in point of time some or all of these may have been visited by missionaries and a temporary establishment set up, the reader will search in vain for a locality within the borders of the United States where the Church has existed continuously for a greater period of time than in what is now the State of Illinois.

The Church came to Illinois in the person of a young French priest, James Marquette,[1] of the Society of Jesus, who, in the year 1673, accompanied by a younger French-Canadian layman, Louis Jolliet, discovered the Mississippi River, rowed down the stream to the Arkansas River, and crossed the present State of Illinois through the Illinois River.[2] The first Christian ceremony of which we have any account, performed in the interior of America, was the baptism of an infant by Father Marquette during this journey, on the banks of the Illinois River, near what is now Peoria, at some time during the month of August, 1673.[3] For three days prior to the administration of this sacrament Father Marquette had taught and preached to the Illini Indians located there.[4]

After the baptism of the child Father Marquette and his companion paddled up the Illinois River in their canoe,

and at a point near what is now the city of Utica, he again taught and preached the Gospel, this time to the Kaskaskia tribe of the Illini, and then and there promised to return and establish the Church amongst them.[5] This, then, was the beginning of Christianity in Mid-America, and James Marquette, S. J., and Louis Jolliet, a layman of distinction, were the first white men and the first Catholics known to have visited the region.

With all the expedition possible under the circumstances, due to the ill-health of Father Marquette, the promise to establish the Church amongst the Illini Indians was redeemed. Arriving at the mouth of the Chicago River on December 4, 1674, with two companions, Pierre Porteret and Jacques LeCastor, Father Marquette set up, or, at least, occupied a cabin located at a point corresponding to the junction of the present Madison street, in Chicago, and Grant Park, on the Lake front, in which he offered the Divine Sacrifice every day from the 4th to the 11th[6] of December and where his two lay-companions received the sacraments twice a week. Here then was the first Church in Illinois, and here was performed the first religious ceremony on the site of what has since become the great metropolitan city of Chicago.

On December 11, assisted no doubt by some members of the Indian tribes with which Marquette and his companions mingled, the canoe containing their personal belongings and supplies, was placed upon the ice in the Chicago River, and dragged up the river two leagues, while Father Marquette followed on foot.[7] Enfeebled by the austerity of his life and the rigors of this and former journeys Father Marquette was unable to make further progress, but was obliged to establish himself as best he could in a rude cabin on the banks of the Chicago River, where he remained three and one-half months.[8]

The story of this first sojourn of white men within the confines of what has become one of the greatest cities

of the world was compressed by Father Marquette himself into a few paragraphs written, to all appearances, at the time of his stay, and consequently entitled to rank as the first document ever penned within the territory covered by one of the world's largest centres of population. The following entries are found in Father Marquette's journal:

> December 1. We went ahead of the savages, so that I might celebrate Mass.
>
> 3. After saying holy Mass, we embarked, and were compelled to make for a point, so that we could land, on account of floating masses of ice.
>
> 4. We started with a favoring wind, and reached the river of the portage (Chicago River), which was frozen to the depth of half a foot; there was more snow there than elsewhere, as well as more tracks of animals and turkeys.
>
> Navigation on the lake is fairly good from one portage to the other, for there is no crossing to be made, and one can land anywhere, unless one persists in going on when the waves are high and the wind is strong. The land bordering it is of no value, except on the prairies. There are eight or ten quite fine rivers. Deer-hunting is very good, as one goes away from the Poutewatamus.
>
> 12. As we began yesterday to haul our baggage in order to approach the portage, the Illinois who had left the Poutewatamus arrived, with great difficulty. We were unable to celebrate holy Mass on the day of the Conception, owing to the bad weather and cold. During our stay at the entrance of the river, Pierre and Jacques killed three cattle and four deer, one of which ran some distance with its heart split in two. We contented ourselves with killing three or four turkeys, out of many that came around our cabin because they were almost dying of hunger. Jacques brought in a partridge that he had killed, exactly like those of France except that it had two ruffs, as it were, of three or four feathers as long as a finger, near the head, covering the two sides of the neck where there are no feathers.[9]

The saintly missionary continued his journey until he set out again on March 29, 1675, and indeed until April 6, 1675, and thus left us an absorbing pen picture of life in the wilds amongst neighbors consisting of wild beasts and, in some instances at least, wilder men, but neither one nor the other so menacing perhaps as the inclement winter weather, so cold at times as to prevent the administration of the sacraments, and yet to be endured by a

man reared amidst the comforts of civilized life, and already enfeebled by ceaseless toil, under-nourishment and continuous exposure.

But Marquette must be about his Father's business. He is commissioned, divinely, must we not believe, to plant the Church in a new field, and so he starts out mid floods and ice floes, and after toiling for ten days, over a route that now by modern means of transportation requires less than as many hours, he arrives at La Vantum, the Kaskaskia of that day, the village of the Kaskaskia tribe of the Illini.[10] In an orderly and businesslike manner he goes about his work. One can picture in imagination the activities of this devoted priest during the three days' preparation for the great event that was to crown his life work, and to constitute the commencement of Christianity, the birth of Faith and civilization in Mid-America.

We are not left to the imagination alone, however, but, on the contrary, have a complete contemporary account written by one having first hand knowledge, the superior of the mission, the Reverend Claude Dablon, S. J., who received his information from Porteret and LeCastor, Father Marquette's lay companions. This is the story:

> On at last arriving at the village, he was received as an angel from Heaven. After he had assembled at various times the Chiefs of the nation, with all the old men, that he might sow in their minds the first seeds of the Gospel, and after having given Instruction in the cabins, which were always filled with a great crowd of people, he resolved to address all in public, in a general assembly, which he called together in the open air, the cabins being too small to contain all the people. It was a beautiful prairie, close to a village, which was selected for the great council; this was adorned, after the fashion of the country, by covering it with mats and bearskins. Then the Father, having directed them to stretch out upon lines several pieces of Chinese taffeta, attached to these four large pictures of the Blessed Virgin, which were visible on all sides. The audience was composed of 500 chiefs and elders, seated in a circle around the Father, and of all the young men, who remained standing. They numbered more than 1,500 men, without counting the women and children, who are always numerous,—the village being

> composed of 500 or 600 fires. The Father addressed the whole body of people, and conveyed to them 10 messages, by means of ten presents which he gave them. He explained to them the principal mysteries of our religion, and the purpose that had brought him to their country. Above all, he preached to them Jesus Christ, on the very eve (of that great day) on which he had died upon the Cross for them, as well as for all the rest of mankind; then he said holy mass.[11]

Holy Thursday, April 11, 1675, then, was the date of the founding of the Catholic Church in the very centre of the territory that became the United States. The region was dedicated by Father Marquette to the Immaculate Conception, and the specific mission established amongst the Kaskaskia Indians was named The Mission of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin.[12]

It is proper to note here the continuity of the particular establishment, the Mission and Church of the Immaculate Conception, and to draw attention to the fact that this Mission and Church has survived without lapse or abandonment through the nearly 250 years that have passed, and flourishes to-day (1922) under the pastorate of the Reverend J. P. Oberlinkels, the eighty-fifth in unbroken succession to Father Marquette. Extended investigation with reference to pioneer church foundations fails to reveal another instance in the territory now within the boundaries of the United States of equal antiquity. Tracing the story of development it is necessary to record that Father Marquette, literally worn out from hardships and privations, bade his Indian congregation farewell on Easter Sunday, April 14, 1675, and turned his steps homeward to die. The toilsome journey of the spent missionary and his pathetic death on the banks of the little river emptying into Lake Michigan, afterwards to be known by his name, is a story familiar to all.[13]

*The Jesuit Succession*—As soon as possible under the difficult conditions the successor promised by Father Marquette came in the person of Claude Jean Allouez, S. J.

Father Allouez was no novice in missionary work, nor indeed in that species of constructive statesmanship that looks to the best interests of human kind. He was, too, a co-worker and frequently a companion of Father Marquette. Together they had held converse with savages at La Pointe Du St. Esprit, at the extremity of Lake Superior.[14] Prior to that he was the spokesman of the French king and the Canadian governor at the conclave under Saint Lusson at the Soo.[15] Again, we find him on the eastern shores of Lake Michigan, working as far south as the St. Joseph River, and thus covering portions of what became Michigan and Indiana; indeed, Notre Dame can claim him as perhaps its earliest white visitor and evangelist. He was among the ablest of the missionaries of his immediate time and place, and has the reputation of being one of the most successful. He is credited with having instructed, during his apostolic career, one hundred thousand natives, ten thousand of whom he baptized. By his zeal and energy he earned the name of the Second Xavier.[16] Father Allouez was left to the Illinois mission but a short time, however. He, also, laid down his life in the cause.[17]

His immediate successor was the Reverend Sebastien Rale, S. J., and although Father Rale was sent to the Illinois missions only temporarily, it is an occasion of just pride to the Church in Mid-America that this great apostle of the Abenakis was for a time the head of the Illinois Church and the successor of the sainted Marquette and the gifted Allouez. Father Rale is well remembered through Whittier's stirring poem, "Mogg Megone," and the lyric obituary penned by the great American poet will live forever.

In succession to Father Rale came Father James Gravier, S. J., who arrived in the Illinois missions in 1693. In the meantime Robert Cavelier de LaSalle had made two visits to the Illinois country. On the first, during the last days of 1679 and the early months of 1680, he brought

with him quite a numerous company, amongst whom were at least four men entitled to a place in history beside the great of our land. Results considered, the greatest of these men must, we think, be judged to have been Henri de Tonti, a layman. The other three were Fathers Louis Hennepin, Gabriel de la Ribourde and Zenobe Membre, all Recollect Franciscans. While LaSalle traveled back and forth Henri de Tonti remained in the Illinois country, and after the building and destruction of Fort Creve Coeur[18] at Peoria Lake took up his permanent abode on the top of the rocky eminence which has become known as Starved Rock, and from there ruled Mid-America for twenty years, the first and in many respects one of the ablest and wisest governors that ever graced an executive office in American territory.

Father Hennepin journeyed through Illinois up the Mississippi, and over land and water through Minnesota back to Canada and Wisconsin, wrote his famous books, and left his impress on history.[19] Father Membre pursued a similar course, and in further following the fortunes of LaSalle suffered martyrdom with the unfortunate colony in Texas.[20]

Father de la Ribourde, after sharing the dangers and trials of Father Membre and Henri de Tonti at Peoria Lake and on the plains near the great rock, became the first martyr to the cause of Christianity on Mid-American soil. Escaping from the savagery of the Iroquois Indians, Tonti, Father Membre and Father Ribourde set out from the Kaskaskia village on May 18, 1680, paddling up the Illinois River in a canoe. On the afternoon of the next day the canoe became so damaged that it was necessary to draw it ashore, and while Tonti and Father Membre were making repairs, Father Ribourde wandered on the neighboring shore reading his breviary, where he was surprised and massacred by a band of Kickapoo Indians. The spot where Father Ribourde, the proto-martyr, gave his life, lies near the modern city of Morris, Illinois, and will, perhaps

some day, be marked and become a shrine of pious pilgrimage.[21]

All these men had come, and all, save Tonti, had gone ere the arrival of Father Gravier. We cannot tell from the records the extent of the results achieved by Father Gravier's predecessors. We do know that each of them converted and baptized large numbers of the natives. We do know that when Father Rale came to the mission he found the natives fervent Christians, meeting under the direction of persons appointed by Father Allouez, and attending to the prescribed devotions with great earnestness and regularity.

We are still more fortunate in the possession of information concerning the mission after the arrival of Father Gravier, for in addition to the letters of relations transmitted by the missionaries to their superiors, we have the mission and parish records made contemporaneously, which have been preserved in the original to the present time.[22] Then, too, Father Gravier particularizes to a greater extent than his predecessors, and after several years of his ministration he is able to write to one of the Fathers of his Order that a large part of his charge (near Peoria Lake) of three thousand souls are Christians, and that of the two thousand two hundred souls composing the village where his associate, Father Marest, was located, "hardly forty may be found who do not profess the Catholic faith with the greatest piety and constancy."[23] Father Gravier spent nineteen years in the Illinois missions. He was the vicar-general of the Bishop of Quebec. Like virtually all the French missionaries he became adept in the Indian language, and his erudition is evidenced by a dictionary of the Indian dialect, the original of which reposes in the library at Harvard University. It is during Father Gravier's pastorate that we first become acquainted to any considerable extent with the lay residents of the locality. Through a portentous event occurring in the Peoria neigh-

borhood we are brought back to the first days of LaSalle and Hennepin. Under the influence of the energetic missionaries, the younger generation, especially, of the savages begun to develop character, and some to possess extraordinary piety. Amongst such was the daughter of the chief of the Peoria tribe, a young Indian maiden of many attainments. Listening to the words of the missionaries she conceived the idea of devoting her life to the service of God through one of the sisterhoods of which the missionaries spoke. Her charms and graces, however, attracted the attention of a Frenchman in the community, none other than Michael Accau, who accompanied LaSalle on his first journey through Illinois, and who was designated by LaSalle to accompany Father Hennepin on his exploring tour down the Illinois River to the Mississippi, and up the Mississippi to the upper region, Saint Anthony's Falls, so named by Father Hennepin, and now marking the site of St. Paul. After the Hennepin journey, Accau returned to Peoria Lake, and became enamored of the Indian chief's daughter. She had been baptized, and Father Gravier had given her at the time the baptismal name of Mary, the first of which we have any record. Accau forced his attentions upon her, and by certain blandishments secured the consent and approval of her parents, but she stubbornly withheld her consent, and insisted upon her purpose of consecrating her life to religion. The pressure from Accau and her parents became so strong, however, that she at last yielded to their desires, in the belief that there was a possibility of her doing some good at least in leading her parents and possibly other members of the tribe into the Church. Accordingly, she consented, and the marriage was celebrated, with the happy result that her husband, who had theretofore been reckless and profligate, became docile and an exemplary Christian. Her father and mother were both baptized, and remained good Catholics to the end of their lives, as well as large numbers

of their former followers who had stood out against the appeals of the missionaries.[24]

The Accau family, as chance has provided, constitutes the identifying link between the chapel of Father Marquette and the present classic structure of Father Oberlinkels, one hundred and fifty miles distant in space, and nearly two hundred and fifty years distant in time. The record of the baptism of the first child of the marriage of Michael Accau and Mary Armapinchacou appears on Father Gravier's parish register, made at Peoria Lake, while the record of the baptism of another child of the same parents, appears upon the parish register of the same Immaculate Conception Church, after the removal of the congregation to the shores of the Kaskaskia River in southwestern Illinois. The land records of Randolph County, in which the later Kaskaskia was located, also show that a son of Michael Accau was a land owner in the village and town of Kaskaskia.

Good, sturdy, steadfast, old Father Gravier fought the good fight through a score of years, but in the end suffered martyrdom at the hands of a criminal savage whose viciousness the good missionary had rebuked.

Father Gravier was witness to the development of civilization in Mid-America; indeed, the main factor in such development, during parts of two centuries. He came into the territory in 1692, and left it in 1706, seeking surgical relief from the constant pain caused by a flint arrowhead shot at him by an Indian, and embedded in his arm, and was prevented from returning by death, which resulted from the wound.

The greater part of Father Gravier's time was employed near Peoria Lake, and the accounts of his activities have been the occasion of more or less confusion; for, whereas, Father Marquette unquestionably established the Mission of the Immaculate Conception on the plains near the great rock, and, whereas, his immediate successor,

Father Claude Jean Allouez, came to the same spot and entered into the very cabin occupied by Father Marquette as dwelling and chapel, it seems that the next missionary, Father Sebastien Rale, spent his brief pastorate near Peoria Lake, and when Father Gravier came in succession to Father Rale, we find him first with Tonti at the rock, but while he is absent for some months in the missions farther north, we learn that upon his return the French garrison is located near Peoria Lake, and Father Gravier erects a cross and chapel there, where he remains quite steadily until near the time of his death.[25]

This moving about is explained by the roving habits of the Indians. The Illini family of Indians consisted of five tribes, viz., the Kaskaskia, the Peoria, the Cahokia, the Mitchigamies and the Tamaroas. The principal location of the Kaskaskia tribe in the latter part of the seventeenth century was near the great rock, now the site of the modern city of Utica. The Peoria tribe regarded the neighborhood of Peoria Lake, an enlargement of the Illinois River, as their territory, while the Cahokia and Tamaroa were located near the Mississippi River, opposite what has become the city of St. Louis, and in and near the village of Cahokia, which exists to the present day. The Mitchigamies, which were then found toward the southern extremity of Illinois, but on the western side of the Mississippi, were formerly located on the western side of Lake Michigan, and it was from that tribe that the lake took its name. Now these tribes intermingled and visited in a body back and forth, and this was especially true of the Kaskaskias and Peorias, so that on some occasions, when early travelers passed through the home site of the Kaskaskia tribe they found it vacant, but on proceeding down the river found the Kaskaskia people sojourning with the Peorias.[26]

Then, too, the war of the Iroquois Indians, whose home territory lay farther to the east, was carried into the region of the Illinois River, and the Kaskaskia tribe

Old Immaculate Conception at Kaskaskia, later First Capitol of Illinois

especially was attacked and annoyed by them to such an extent that they were wont to absent themselves from their home territory and, indeed, as we shall later see, caused them to remove entirely from their original habitat.

While there was this moving about of the missionaries in their determination to be always with the tribes to which they ministered, it seems reasonably certain that there was no interruption of the occupation of the Starved Rock region from the time that Father Marquette established the mission there in 1675, until the latter part of the year 1699. Father Marquette, Father Allouez and Father Rale ministered there. In 1683 the fort, named Fort Saint Louis, was completed by Tonti on the summit of the rock and became the headquarters of the missionaries as well as of the French governor, Tonti, and his garrison, and so remained practically to the end of the century. Hence the Peoria establishment must be regarded as simply a branch or out-mission of the Mission of the Immaculate Conception at the great rock. This is borne out by the fact that no name was given the Peoria establishment, and by the further fact that records made by Father Gravier at the Peoria foundation are made under the name of the Mission of the Immaculate Conception.

*Tonti, Soldier, Governor, Administrator.*—The first quarter of a century of Christianity and civilization in this Mid-American region was marked by other activities than those of the missionaries named, and, indeed, presents a glorious record. For the first time on the American continent an attempt was made on a large scale to civilize, as well as christianize, the American Indian. The great soldier and administrator, Tonti, at the suggestion of La-Salle, gathered about him in the fertile valley of the Illinois, all the tribes of Indians in the central part of America, the Iroquois and the Sioux alone excepted. Here there assembled into a peace confederation, the first league of nations for peace ever organized, the Illini, the Pottawa-

tami, the Miami, the Weas, the Piankeshas, the Shawnees and others, so that Parkman could say, in his inimitable way, that from his rock fort LaSalle (he should have said Tonti) could look down upon his erstwhile savage neighbors, to the number of twenty thousand, and mark their strides of advance in civilization.[27] A contemporary map furnishes the proof of the progress attained in Tonti's glorious administration.[28]

The story of this great Italian, Henri de Tonti, has been but meagerly told.[29] His own concise letters give us but the key to his astounding accomplishments. Now we see him braving the savages on the plains of La Vantum, and spurning their gifts, although suffering from a wound inflicted by one of their knives. Again, we see him building and garrisoning the fort on the rock. At the call of Denonville, we see him rushing with an army to the Niagara frontier, striking a decisive blow against the Iroquois and English, and returning posthaste to his seat of government. For the relief of his chief, LaSalle, he makes an incredible journey through the frozen North, and again for the rescue of LaSalle's party he rushes to the Gulf of Mexico, through Texas, and back through swamp and floods, only to meet disappointment.[30] Ever and always, however, he is the firm friend, the ardent exponent of religion and the guide and guardian of the missionaries of every order. Father Gravier always found refuge with him, Fathers François Pinet and Juilis Bineteau, of the Jesuits, are welcome visitors at his seat of government, and the Franciscan Fathers and Fathers of the Foreign Missions were equally welcome.

The mention of Fathers Pinet and Bineteau brings to mind the establishment of the Church in territory which is now within the confines of the great metropolitan city of Chicago. In the year 1696 Father Pinet established the Mission of the Angel Guardian among the Pottawatami and Miami Indians. In his ministrations here he was

assisted by Father Bineteau. They seem to have had the disfavor of the Canadian governor, Frontenac, and were obliged to give up that mission in 1699. They never lost Tonti's friendship, however, and were always his welcome guests.

It is in order, for the purpose of giving a semblance of completeness to the story of the seventeenth century activities, to note that Tonti not only gathered around him in the valley of the Illinois, all the members of the savage tribes, but as well a number of Frenchmen, who became the first land owners in Mid-America, and some of whom were men of the highest merit, whose descendants have reflected credit upon their ancestors, and are yet to be found among the representative families of the modern communities of Peoria, LaSalle, Ottawa and Kankakee.[31]

On the approach of the new century a great change takes place. The home government has undergone serious alterations. Robert Cavalier Sieur de LaSalle has been dead more than ten years, and the powerful men who sustained him have been supplanted by others who were strangers to his plans. The establishment on the lower Mississippi by D'Iberville at what became New Orleans, assumes greater importance in the eyes of the home government, and so the Illinois foundation suffers neglect. A man of indomitable energy and great knowledge like Tonti is needed in the new Southern settlement, and so the Illinois governor is sent south. Losing their ruler and leader the Indian confederation disintegrates. The Kaskaskia are threatened by old and new enemies, and they resolve, apparently under the advice of their then spiritual leader, Father Gabriel Marest, S. J., to quit the old habitation, and remove nearer to the new French establishment in the South. Accordingly, in the latter part of the year 1699 the savages of the Kaskaskia tribe shake the dust of old La Vantum from their feet, and set their faces southward. They are just in the act of "trekking" to a new

location, when Father Gravier who has been sometime absent in the performance of his duty as vicar-general, returns. He uses his best endeavors to have them remain, but their minds are made up, and the most he is able to persuade them to do is to pitch their tents on the little river in the southwestern part of the state, which then became known as the Kaskaskia, and there remain. And so it is we have the confusion of two Kaskaskias in history; the first located at the point that is now the city of Utica, in LaSalle County, Illinois, and the other and later one at a point in the northwestern part of Randolph County, the site of which has been swallowed up by the Mississippi River. Here in this new Kaskaskia the savages located themselves, and from their village grew up the first permanent settlement in Mid-America, a village, town, city, that became the seat of government for the French until 1763, and of the English Government until the close of the Revolutionary War; then the capital of the Territory, and State of Illinois until 1821.

Contemporaneously with this settlement another grew up at Cahokia in the territory of the Cahokia and Tamaroa tribes of Indians. In 1699 Father Pinet, with whom we are already acquainted, established the Mission of the Holy Family among the savages there. At about the same time Bishop Saint Valier, of Quebec, determined to send the Fathers of his university to the Mississippi and establish missions there, and, accordingly, three of them, the Reverend François Buisson de Saint Cosme, the Reverend Anthony Davion and the Reverend François Jolliet Montigny appeared at the Angel Guardian Mission in Chicago shortly before its close, and were received with every mark of welcome and distinction by the Jesuit fathers, Pinet and Bineteau. Proceeding to the Kaskaskia village they were met by Henri de Tonti, who not only showed them every courtesy, but became their guide on their journey to and down the Mississippi, and completely captivated them by

his suavity, piety and great knowledge.[32] One of these missionaries, Father De Saint Cosme, under the decision of the Bishop, took over the Holy Family Mission at Cahokia, while the other two went to the lower Mississippi.

At the beginning of the new century, then, there were at least three missions established in Illinois. There was the original one of the Immaculate Conception, established by Father Marquette, and first located near the great rock, but removed by Father Marest in 1699 or 1700, to the new Kaskaskia, in the southwestern part of the State. There was the branch mission at Peoria, which Father Gravier ministered to until 1706 or 1707, and there was that of the Holy Family at Cahokia, under the direction of the Fathers of the Foreign Missions.[33]

From 1690, the date marking the end of LaSalle's activities and influence, until at least 1712, very little, if any, attention was paid to the Illinois country by either the home government of France or the Canadian Colonial Government. Considerable attention was given to the new settlements set up on the lower Mississippi, but the Illinois ventures were practically abandoned, so far as government was concerned. The activities of Tonti at Fort Saint Louis and of his partner, François de la Forest at Chicago, carrying on the life of traders, constituted the only link between the government and these localities. After Tonti's departure in 1699 the entire responsibility rested upon the missionary priests, assisted only by a few French settlers who remained, and civilized and christianized Indian chiefs and members of the Indian tribes.

It was fortunate that at this juncture the right man was at hand to assume leadership. The Reverend Pierre Gabriel Marest, S. J., stepped into the breach. Our first acquaintance with this missionary dates from his connection with the expedition of D'Iberville from Montreal to Hudson Bay, directed against the English in 1694. This expedition was successful, and Father Marest began a mission at

Hudson Bay. In 1695 the forts were retaken by the English, however, and he was taken a prisoner to Plymouth, England. Nevertheless he found his way (by what means we are not advised) out of the English imprisonment, and was, as we have seen, at the Mission of the Immaculate Conception near Fort Saint Louis on the rock in 1699. From there, as has been stated, he led the Kaskaskia tribe to the new Kaskaskia, and became pastor and governor. The effect of Father Marest's work and that of the missionaries associated with him is indicated in what he himself said of the savages:

> Christianity . . . . has softened their savage customs and their manners are now marked by a sweetness and purity which have induced some of the French to take their daughters in marriage. We find in them moreover a docility and ardor for the practice of the Christian virtues.[34]

As a result of Father Marest's labors in this new location by the year 1707 he had an Indian congregation of 2160, who professed the Catholic faith with "the greatest piety and constancy."[35]

It is to be noted that the savages not only advanced in Christianity, but that they became settled, and instead of roaming about and going on "hunts" they became farmers and gardeners, learned from the Jesuits how to raise wheat and other crops, lived in separate habitations with lawful wives, and reared their families in a Christian and civilized manner. One of the closest students of the early history of Illinois and the Indians has stated that "it was no doubt due to him (Father Marest) directly that the Illinois country later so rapidly developed its agricultural resources, that the new settlement became the source of the grain and flour consumed by the French settlements along the lower Mississippi."[36] Father Gabriel Marest must be written down as the industrial founder of Illinois. He came to his death on September 15, 1714, and his body was laid to rest in the chapel of the Immaculate

Conception, and removed to the little church, which succeeded the chapel, on December 18, 1772.

*Reviving Civil Government*—It is worth while using this first decade of the eighteenth century for the purpose of comparison between the results in christianizing and civilizing the savages in various parts of what became the United States. We cannot here go into details, but beg all those interested in the subject to consider if equal results have been attained elsewhere.

It will be remembered that in the year 1712 the French Government in a certain sense turned some attention to the Illinois country. In that year a grant was made to Antoine Crozat, who was given the privilege of exploiting the country for fifteen years. As his mind was filled only with gold and precious metals his exploitation of course was a failure. He himself never came to Illinois. He appointed LaMothe Cadillac, later the founder of Detroit, as governor, and Jean Baptiste le Moyne de Bienville, lieutenant governor. The grant, however, was surrendered to the king, and a new concession made to the Royal India Company in 1717, and it was through this company that civil government was again set up under Pierre Dugue de Boisbriant.[37]

The next great lay figure to arise in the territory, however, was Chicagou, the chief of the Tamaroa. Not half of the glory of Chief Chicagou has ever been told. His career was unique in American history. He was a stanch proponent and defender of the Church, a warrior as heroic as any red man in the American annals, and a leader as popular as Pontiac, but infinitely more just and civilized. He was the friend and intimate of Father Nicholas Ignace de Beaubois. He commanded the Indian contingent in the famous expedition against the English, the Choctaws and Chickasaws, in which the heroic Governor Pierre D'Artaquette, the idolized Francis Morgan Vincennes, and the devoted Father Antoine Senat, S. J., were burned at the

stake, martyrs to Christianity and civilization.[38] In recognition of his greatness Father de Beaubois, under the direction of his superiors, invited Chicagou to accompany him to Paris and Versailles, where he appeared in the most important centres of France, and before the most distinguished assemblages, and was loaded down with honors.[39] In every respect this distinguished Indian chief was a fit protonym of the great metropolis of Chicago, that adopted his name.[40]

During these years of Chief Chicagou's activities there were other very distinguished French missionaries in the territory, including the Reverend Jean Mermet, S. J., the Reverend Louis Marie Deville, S. J., the Reverend Jean Charles Guymouneau, S. J., the Reverend Joseph François de Kereben, S. J., and the Reverend Jean Antoine le Boullenger, S. J. While all these were men of note, it is no doubt true that Father de Beaubois and Father Le Boullenger were the greatest leaders.

Father Le Boullenger became the first pastor of the Church of St. Anne du Fort Chatres, the parish church of the French Fort Chatres completed on the Mississippi in 1720.[41] It was there that the French governor established his headquarters, and during much of the time that the French fort and garrison were maintained, a period of more than fifty years, this became the centre not only of governmental activity, but of social life, and the account of the pomp and ceremony maintained at this French-American capital gives us a glimpse of such splendors as the wild regions of America had never before witnessed. As Saint Anne's was the fashionable church, a royal edict fixed the order of precedence in which the higher officers, subalterns and the commonalty should enter and seat themselves. The cavalcades that issued from the fort on gala occasions for ceremonies in the church, or social or recreational expeditions have been described in the superlative.[42] Father Le Boullenger and his able assistant, Father Kere-

ben, measured up to the responsibility of this important charge, and at the same time proved themselves, like many of their missionary predecessors and successors, men of great learning. One of their contemporaries, then located at New Orleans, Father Mathurin le Petit, S. J., has left us this account of Father Le Boullenger's work amongst the savages in a letter which he wrote to his superior:

> You would be astonished, as I myself have been, on arriving at this mission to find that a great part of our French are not by any means so well instructed in religion as these neophytes. They are scarcely unacquainted with the histories of the old and the new testament. The manner in which they hear the Holy Mass and receive the sacraments is most excellent. Their catechism, which has fallen into my hands, with a literal translation made by Father Le Boullenger, is a perfect model for those who have need of such works in their missions.[43]

Amongst the missionaries who followed Father Le Boullenger and Father De Beaubois were the Reverend Jean Dumas, S. J., the Reverend Rene Tartarin, S. J., the Reverend Philip Watrin, S. J., the Reverend Etiene Doutreleau, S. J., the Reverend Alexis Xavier Guyenne, S. J., the Reverend Louis Vivier, S. J., the Reverend Julien Joseph Fourre, S. J., the Reverend Jean Baptiste Aubert, S. J., and the Reverend Sebastien Louis Meurin, S. J. It may be truthfully said that each of these was a great leader, but we can take time to single out only two of the greatest, Fathers Watrin and Meurin.

Father Watrin came into the Illinois country in 1733, and for thirty years labored incessantly in the missions until the edict of the French Council at New Orleans, banishing the Jesuits, was issued in 1763, when he and his associates were seized and forcibly carried into captivity. Before the banishment he was the superior of the Illinois missions, and became the defender and vindicator of his colleagues. The justification of the Jesuits, written by Father Watrin, is a classic, and though little reference has been made to it, it is one of the most striking historical

documents that have been translated into the English language. Father Watrin needed nothing to add to his thirty years of onerous services in the Illinois mission fields to merit a place in the memory of mankind, but this extended analysis has placed him in the glorious circle of the confessors.[44]

The chief glory of Father Sebastien Louis Meurin relates to the fact that he was the last of the Jesuit Indian missionaries in the Illinois country. When the godless Louisiana Council, without show of right, legal or otherwise, tore the missionaries from their charges, and despoiled the Church property solely to wreak vengeance upon an unoffending, but effective institution for the promotion of a righteousness that comported not with the spirit of spoliation and aggrandizement, the orphaned missions begged for at least one of their spiritual fathers, and at long length and under burdensome conditions and restrictions, Father Meurin was permitted to return, and for some years fought the battle of Christianity and civilization alone in the territory. Altogether this good priest labored in the Illinois missions for thirty-one years, from 1746 to 1777, the date of his death. Amongst all the great missionaries in this Jesuit succession Father Meurin is the most real and tangible for us. We know reasonably well his life; we know where he was buried, "under the window at the gospel side of the altar near the old church at Prairie du Rocher built of logs set upon a stone foundation";[45] we know that James Oliver Vandeveld became the second Bishop of Chicago, and that in 1849 he disinterred Father Meurin's remains. Finding the skeleton entire he placed it in a fitting casket and after conveying it to St. Louis, reinterred it at Saint Stanislaus' Cemetery of the Jesuit Order there. To this day one may kneel before the unpretentious slab marking his grave, and invoke the blessings of the long train of Jesuits, the last of whom was

Father Meurin, who consecrated Mid-America to the honor and glory of God.[46]

Here we may pause to glance at the condition of the territory and cursorily at the country at large. A more particular inspection develops some rather startling facts. One of these is the establishment of a college at a very early date. We find that a Jesuit college was established in Kaskaskia in the year 1721, and following its history we see that it was maintained under a charter of the French Government from the time of its establishment down to the date of the banishment of the Jesuits in 1765. To be sure there has been some discussion as to the character of this college, some writers of authority maintaining that it was not a college in the true sense, but only a residential institution of the Jesuit Foundation. Whatever its nature may have been it is certain that it was the headquarters of the Jesuit missionaries, and it is also certain that in their establishment they taught the growing savages and the rising generations of the French settlers.[47] The college structure itself was no mean one. As it existed in the later years of the Jesuit occupancy it survived to the territorial and statehood period of the State of Illinois. When the Jesuits were banished the college and church beside it were not razed, as the council orders provided they should be, and when the English obtained possession of the country the college building was converted into a seat of government and fort, called Fort Gage, and so remained until the fort and garrison were taken by the forces of George Rogers Clark on July 4, 1778.[48] The college then became the headquarters of the Virginia establishment, and continued to be the seat of government, so that when the Territory of Illinois was created the old college was the capitol, and thus continued after the admission of the State of Illinois into the Union in 1818, and until 1821, when the capital was removed from Kaskaskia to Vandalia.[49]

An interesting photograph, showing this ancient in-

stitution as the first capitol of Illinois, with the quite spacious Church of the Immaculate Conception beside it, has been preserved in numerous reproductions.

Around this Jesuit Foundation, first established by Marquette, and tended and administered by his successors, grew up one of the greatest cities of America of that day. The population, French and Indian, has been estimated as high as 20,000. Those who have sought to belittle the early French progress concede that there were at least 3000 souls in the city of Kaskaskia alone. It is known that for the care of the not less than five Catholic missions in and near Kaskaskia there were at times as many as seven or eight missionaries. Governor John Reynolds, who lived amongst the French inhabitants and wrote the first comprehensive history of the State of Illinois, calls Kaskaskia the Paris of the West.[50] It was undoubtedly true that before the end of the Jesuit period Kaskaskia was exceeded in population by only one or two cities in the territory now within the United States. It was much larger than Philadelphia and compared favorably with New York and Boston.

There was, too, besides the Jesuit Foundations, the establishment of the Fathers of the Foreign Missions at Cahokia, which, from a humble beginning, grew into a great foundation, with its mills, factories and extended plantation. The French Government ceded to the Mission Fathers a tract of land four leagues square, which was brought to a high state of cultivation.[51] The community was a very prosperous one, never at any time of course equal to that of the Jesuits, for their plantation, mills and factories were on a scale greater than anything of the nature existing in the country at the time.[52] Incidentally, it may be said that all these possessions were wrested from both the Jesuits and the Fathers of the Foreign Missions and lost to the Church.

It needs here to be noted that up to this time no man

of any religious persuasion, except Catholic, had appeared in this region, and our assertion of priority and primacy for Mid-America as a Catholic centre may again be alluded to.

*The New Regime.*—Corresponding with the date of the banishment of the Jesuits from Illinois occurred another event of world-wide importance. As a culmination of the age-old struggle between the French and English, Wolfe and Montcalm met and measured strength on the Heights of Abraham in the year 1763. A decisive victory was gained for British arms, and under the Treaty of Paris which concluded the war the territory of Mid-America became the property of Great Britain. Fort Chatres, near Kaskaskia, was, however, the last stronghold to fly the French flag, but in the year 1765, the British perfected their title by possession, and the former French freemen, as well as their savage neighbors and fellow-workers, became subject to the British crown.

In the banishment of the Jesuits the Church was dealt a staggering blow, but it was not killed, only wounded. The insistent cries of Father Meurin for help finally produced results, and in 1768 materialized in the form of a young French-Canadian priest, the Reverend Peter Gibault. Father Gibault and Father Meurin labored together in the field from the advent of the former until the death of the good old pastor, and in the meantime the young vicar-general of the Bishop of Qubec grew in grace and wisdom. His missionary circuit was indeed a wide one, with headquarters at Kaskaskia he mounted his horse and rode thence to Vincennes; from Vincennes to the Indian settlements and villages up to the Great Lakes; thence he traveled by water to Mackinack and Detroit, returning by way of Peoria, Cahokia and the other missions. For years he literally spent himself in these missions, but he became the most powerful individual in all the territory included in his wide jurisdiction. This condition proved most fortui-

tous in the struggle for American independence that was to come, especially in view of the fact that, Canadian as he was, and subject to a Canadian bishop with strong leanings to the British ascendency, he nevertheless understood the American cause and became its champion. He was in a position, therefore, to render signal assistance to the struggling patriots, when, during the war, a movement was begun against the western British posts in the interest of the Revolution. The culmination may be briefly told. With the invaluable assistance of Father Gibault, George Rogers Clark secured for the Virginia Government, which he represented, in the interest of the United States, Kaskaskia, Prairie du Rocher, Cahokia, and Vincennes, the pivotal posts of the then Northwest, thus securing to the United States the vast empire comprised in the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin. To this humble priest, the greatest patriot of the Northwest, the first citizen of Illinois, we owe in larger measure than to any one else, the American title to these great States.

The brilliant story of Pierre Gibault is just beginning to be learned and told. It is the story of one of the most modest men that ever trod the soil of Mid-America, but at the same time the story of the greatest accomplishments amongst ruin and disaster, and vice and profligacy, that may be written of an American. It nowhere shines with honors or distinctions showered upon this great Christian and great benefactor, but is replete with abuse, detraction, ingratitude and neglect. He was the patriot *par excellence,* the devoted and persevering champion of Christianity, the self-sacrificing drudge in the service of humanity. Because of his patriotism he became a virtual outcast in his old age, and died in such poverty and obscurity that no man knows his grave; but the spirit of his achievements, the unselfishness of his sacrifices pervade the region which he served, and gradually men are awakening to the realization of his benefactions.[53]

This brings us to the close of the Revolutionary War period, and as far forward as the beginning of the nineteenth century. In this review we have necessarily but skimmed the surface, but we beg our readers to hold up this record, faulty though it be, in comparison with the pre-Revolutionary record of any other part of our fair country.

It is not pretended either that this review covers all that might be included in the pioneer period; indeed, we might continue for fifty or even one hundred years more, and still be within that purview. We must content ourselves with remarking that where Father Gibault or any other of the great pioneers laid down the task others took it up, and through the succeeding years have reasonably well maintained the high standards set by their predecessors, and developed men and institutions in a large sense worthy of the cause they represented.

NOTES

1. Marquette's "Journal," published in the French (facsimile also) and an English translation by Thwaites in "Jesuit Relations," Vol. 59.
2. Thwaites, "Jesuit Relations," Vol. 59. p. 66 *et. seq.*
3. *Ib.* p. 161.
4. *Ib.* Id.
5. *Ib.* p. 161.
6. Marquette's Journal in Thwaites, "Jesuit Relations," Vol. 59, p. 171. Apparently Mass was omitted on one day as Father Marquette says, "We were unable to celebrate Holy Mass on the day of the Conception (Dec. 8) owing to the bad weather and cold." *Ib.* p. 173.
7. *Ib.* Id.
8. There has been some speculation about the cabin in which Father Marquette and his two companions wintered, but Father Dablon says: "They constructed a cabin." Thwaites, "Jesuit Relations," Vol. 59, p. 187. Chiefly through the efforts of Mr. G. A. O'Shaughnessy, writer and artist, a cross has been erected to mark the site of this cabin.
9. Thwaites, "Jesuit Relations," Vol. 59, pp. 171-173.
10. La Vantum was the name given this village by the French.
11. Thwaites, "Jesuit Relations," Vol. 59, p. 189.
12. This of course was long before the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was declared, but Father Marquette was especially devoted to the doctrine. It will be remembered that he made a

promise that if he were permitted to discover the great river (Mississippi) he would name it the River of the Conception, and if permitted to establish the Church in the Illinois country he would name the mission the Immaculate Conception. Both of these promises he fulfilled. Relation of Marquette's first journey, Thwaite's "Jesuit Relations," Vol. 59, p. 93.

13. See Father Dablon's account in Thwaites "Jesuit Relations," Vol. 59, p. 195, *et. seq.*
tions," Vol. 59, p. 195, *et. seq.*

14. They were assisted in this mission. See a pleasing account of this mission by Helen Patten in *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 4, p. 319.

15. Sault Ste. Marie. This ceremony took place on June 14, 1671. As will be recalled all the Indian tribes were called to a conclave to witness the taking possession of the country for the French crown. It was a remarkable ceremony. A cross and the French standard were raised, and Father Allouez delivered an eloquent oration. For a satisfactory account, giving original sources, see Kellogg, "Early Narratives of the Northwest," p. 217.

16. Campbell "Pioneer Priests of North America," Vol. 3, p. 164.

17. Father Allouez died on the night of the 27-28 of August, 1689, near what is now Niles, Michigan, at age 67.

18. A literal translation of *Creve Coeur* is Broken Heart. If LaSalle's heart was not then broken by his numerous misfortunes it must soon have been for all his plans went awry.

19. Parkman and others have reflected severely upon Hennepin, questioning his veracity. John Gilmary Shea defends him.

20. As is well known LaSalle on his sea voyage to Louisiana in 1684 missed the mouth of the Mississippi and, landing in what became Texas, set up a colony which was massacred by the savages. See Parkman "LaSalle and the Discovery of the Great West," Chapters 24 to 29.

21. Tonti tells this sad story in a short paragraph, but loses none of its tragedy. See Tonti's Memoir published in English in Kellogg's "Early Narratives of the Northwest," p. 294.

22. These parish registers repose in the archives of the St. Louis University, St. Louis, Mo.

23. Gravier to Tamburini 1707, Thwaites, "Jesuit Relations," Vol. 66, p. 121.

24. Letter of Father Gravier, Thwaites "Jesuit Relations," Vol. 64, p. 213.

25. Thwaites, "Jesuit Relations," Vol. 64, p. 159.

26. Such was the case when LaSalle passed through the Kaskaskia village, January 1, 1680. Tonti's Memoir, Kellogg "Early Narratives of the Northwest," p. 290.

27. Parkman, "LaSalle and the Discovery of the Great West," p. 295.

28. See reproduction of Franquelin's map, made in 1684, in Parkman, "LaSalle and the Discovery of the Great West," op. p. 295.

29. The late Henry Legler, Librarian of the Chicago Public Library, published a short monograph on Tonti, which is the most comprehensive treatment published to date.

30. See Tonti's modest statement in his Memoir, Kellogg, *op. cit.*

31. The names of several Frenchmen who were either visitors or settlers in the famous colony have come down to us. Some of them are René Robert Cavalier Sieur de LaSalle, Henri de Tonti, Daniel Greysolon DuLhut (for whom Duluth is named), Greysolon de la Tournette, a brother of DuLhut, François de la Forest, Sieur Juchereau, St. Denis, Boisrondet, Michael Dizy, Pierre Chenet, François Pachot, François Hazeur, Louis le Vasseur, Mathieu Marlin, François Channon, Jacques de Faye, Michael Guyon, Andrede Chalneau, Marie Joseph le Neuf, Michael de Grez, Phillippe Ensault, Jean Petit, Rene Fezeret, Riverin, Chanjou, D'Autrey, D'Artigny, LaChesnaye, Poisset, LaPorte, Louvigny De St. Castin, see *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 2, p. 17.

32. See Father St. Cosme's letter reproduced in English in Kellogg, "Early Narratives of the Northwest," p. 342, *et. seq.*

33. See extended account of this mission and church in *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 1, p. 190, *et. seq.*

34. Marest to Germon, Thwaites, "Jesuit Relations," Vol. 66, p. 241.

35. Gravier to Tamburini, Thwaites, "Jesuit Relations," Vol. 66, p. 121.

36. Osman, "Starved Rock," pp. 145-146.

37. The best account of the French Regime yet published is to be found in Alvord, "The Illinois Country," Vol. 1 of the Centennial History of Illinois.

38. See particular account of this tragedy from authoritative sources in *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 2, pp. 62-63-64. See also Monnette, "Settlement of the Mississippi Valley," and Thwaites, "Jesuit Relations," Vol. 68, pp. 309-310.

39. See as to Chicagou's visit to France, Thwaites, "Jesuit Relations," Vol. 67, p. 341.

40. Some writers have urged that the name Chicago was derived from the Indian word which was used as the name of the wild onion, which grew profusely in the territory. It was quite common for one tribe of Indians to give names to others which referred to the flowers, grasses or grains growing in their neighborhood, just as the Follies Avons were so named by other tribes because in their neighborhood the wild oats grew in profusion. It seems that the Tamaroa Indians at one time inhabited the territory upon which Chicago is now built, and the name Chicago, indicating the wild onion, may have been given to these Indians by other tribes. It at least seems certain that the particular chief of the tribe of which we are speaking was named Chicagou, and it is entirely logical to assume that visiting savages would speak of the neighborhood in which Chicagou lived as Chicagou, that is, the place of Chicagou.

41. For a full account of this most interesting French fortification, which has recently been restored by the State of Illinois, under the direction of the Department of Public Works and Buildings, see Gertrude Corrigan in "Two Hundredth Anniversary of Fort Chatres," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 2, p. 474, *et. seq.*

42. Mather, "The Making of Illinois," p. 87.

43. Thwaites, "Jesuit Relations," Vol. 68, pp. 211-213.

44. Father Watrin's masterly defense of the Jesuits is published in full in the French and English in Thwaites, "Jesuit Rela-

tions," Vol. 70, p. 213, *et. seq.* It is reproduced in Alvord and Carter, "The Critical Period," Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. 10, p. 62, *et. seq.*

45. Shea, "Catholic Church of the United States 1808-1843," p. 238.

46. The best account of Father Meurin's life and labors is to be found in Metzger, "Sebastien Louis Meurin," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, beginning Vol. 3, p. 241, *et. seq.*, continuing in Vol. 3, p. 371, *et. seq.*, and concluded in Vol. 4, p. 43, *et. seq.*

47. "The Fathers gave daily instruction, for the most part religious, to the French children, thus becoming the first school teachers in Illinois." Alvord, "The Illinois Country," p. 198, citing Flagg, "*The Far West*" in Thwaites, "Early Western Travels" 27:62, and Alvord and Carter, "The Critical Period," 77.

48. Direct reference to the conversion of this "college" into a fort and capitol building is found in early letters in the Archives of the Jesuit College at Woodstock.

49. A precious relic of this old establishment, a small table that constituted a part of its furniture, and upon which Elias Kent Kane, a member of the first constitutional convention of Illinois, and afterwards Secretary of State and United States Senator, wrote the 1818 Constitution of Illinois, was presented to the Reverend Arnold Damen, S. J., the founder of Holy Family Parish of the Jesuits in Chicago, and remains in St. Ignatius College, 1076 W. Roosevelt Road, Chicago. Senator Kane was a post revolutionary Catholic pioneer of great merit and distinction.

50. "Pioneer History of Illinois," p. 50.

51. This cession was made January 22, 1722, and a copy of it with a map is found in Laval University manuscripts. Alvord, "The Illinois Country," p. 205.

52. *Ib.*, 139.

53. The writer of this article set out some years ago to learn every detail of the life of Father Gibault. The results of his studies have appeared in nine papers published in the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, beginning with the July number 1918, and continuing through subsequent numbers.

# SOME CATHOLIC LEADERS IN KENTUCKY

EDWARD J. MCDERMOTT, A. B., LL. B., LL. D.

IT is not my purpose to tell of the heroic work of distinguished clergymen who did much to lay the foundations of the Church in Kentucky in the days of the pioneers. The labors, the hardships and the achievements of the Reverend Stephen Theodore Badin, the Reverend Robert A. Abell, the Reverend Charles Nerinckx and Bishop Benedict Joseph Flaget are well known. Bishop, and later Archbishop, Martin J. Spalding, who contributed his inheritance of $10,000 (then regarded as a large sum) toward the cost of the building of the stately Cathedral in Louisville, was the author of many volumes on Catholic themes and in the defense of the Church and recording the deeds of his predecessors here. His ability, learning, sincerity and literary style gave his books a wide circulation. His nephew, John Lancaster Spalding, born in Kentucky, but later Bishop of Peoria, Illinois, and finally Archbishop, possessed rare faculties of mind and was a ripe scholar, an eloquent speaker and an author of distinction. All those priests were of heroic mold, true giants, whose lives were hallowed by piety and charity and crowned with glory. The story of the beginning and growth of the Church in Kentucky, "The Dark and Bloody Ground," was well told in 1884, by Ben J. Webb, in his book, "The Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky," a mine of entertaining and useful information. His father and mother were of English descent. The latter belonged to a family that went with Lord Baltimore's colony to Maryland.

Mr. Webb was born in Bardstown on February 25, 1814, and was educated at Saint Joseph's College there, and became a printer on the Louisville *Journal*, a newspaper

made famous by George D. Prentice. Later Mr. Webb edited the *Catholic Advocate,* begun in Bardstown and published many years in Louisville. In 1855, when the Know-Nothings were rampant and "Bloody Monday" was approaching, Mr. Webb contributed to the *Journal* and published in book-form a long series of manly, effective letters in answer to the bitter attacks made by Mr. Prentice on foreigners and on the Catholic Church.

Mr. Webb was twice elected to the State Senate from Louisville and served from 1867 to 1875. He favored and spoke for a bill to give Negroes the right to testify in court and for a more stringent law for suppressing the Ku Klux Klan in Kentucky, and he opposed the continuance of the lottery-franchise, granted for the benefit of the Public Library. He charged that the whole scheme was demoralizing to the people; that, while it was a source of much profit to its promoters, it had brought or would bring comparatively little profit to the Library or the State. In the end his opinion prevailed and the lottery was discontinued.

By his intelligence, integrity and skill in writing, Mr. Webb rendered valuable service to his Church and to the State. In gathering historic material and writing his book he saved many priceless memorials of stirring and fateful days.

N. S. Shaler, a Kentuckian who was long a favorite professor at Harvard University, in his history of Kentucky, published in 1884, said:

> The Roman Catholics were represented among the very first settlers in Kentucky. Doctor Hart and William Coomes, who settled at Harrod's Station in 1775, the one a physician and the wife of the other a school teacher, were both Maryland Catholics; so, as Collin remarks, "the first practicing physician and the first teacher in Kentucky were Roman Catholics." They were both valiant and valuable men. They were followed by many other families, who founded the large Catholic community that still exists near Bardstown, in Nelson County. Their first church was founded in 1787. These people were all of the Maryland stock, and were a

> most important contribution to the blood of Kentucky, though they have maintained a peculiar isolation, having had but a small share in the political life of the State.

It should be pointed out that that colony gradually spread out over several adjoining counties, and that Mr. Shaler was wrong in his statement that "they have maintained a peculiar isolation." It is true that they have had "a small share in the political life of the State," because an unreasonable, unconquerable religious prejudice has long obstructed the success of its ablest Catholic men. Members of the Faith who were neither influential nor prominent were allowed to have petty offices; but, to not a few Protestant voters the thought of having able Catholic men in high places was unbearable. If those of that calibre were so honored and their fitness so made evident, as was the case, how could it be said any longer that Catholics were only ignorant and superstitious? When I had won the nomination for Congress in a big Democratic primary election in Louisville in 1894, over two powerful opponents with big campaign funds, getting almost as many votes as both of my competitors combined, one of my friends, in trying to get a dissatisfied Democratic voter who was a member of the secret, anti-Catholic American Protective Association, to vote for me in the regular November election, said to him: "Don't you think he is an able man of high character?" "Sure," was the reply. "That is the reason I am against him. It would never do to have that sort of a Catholic in Congress." Two thousand Democrats of that type defeated me.

That sort of ignorance or prejudice was apparent in its ugliest form during the time of the Know-Nothings, who called themselves the American Party, from 1852 to 1856. On "Bloody Monday" in 1855, on election day in Louisville, the lust of office and of political power was aroused and the passions of the ignorant mob were inflamed by George D. Prentice, the brilliant, but partisan, editor of

the *Journal*. Walter N. Haldeman's newspaper, the Louisville *Courier* of the same time, defended the foreigners and Catholics boldly and his office was attacked by the mob. The German and Irish voters were beaten and driven from the polls. Bishop M. J. Spalding put the keys of the Cathedral in the hands of the mayor and demanded protection. All the Catholic churches were threatened and, with difficulty, were saved from destruction. My own uncle, a Democrat, whose grandfather was a maimed Maryland soldier of the Revolution and who had drawn a pension several years before his death in Louisville in 1834, had to be escorted to the polls by two brave friends, both armed. A long row of frame-buildings, in which most of the tenants were Irish, was burned, the owner was killed and many of the tenants were shot or burned. The steamboats for days were crowded with Germans and Irish who were leaving the city. The injury to the city was felt for a generation or more, and gave Cincinnati a big advantage over Louisville for many years.

A letter of Abraham Lincoln, a Kentuckian, on August 25, 1855, to Joshua F. Speed, another Kentuckian, then in Springfield, Illinois, says:

> I am not a Know-Nothing; that is certain. How could I be? How can anyone who abhors the oppression of Negroes be in favor of degrading classes of white people? Our progress in degeneracy appears to me to be pretty rapid. As a nation we began by declaring that "all men are created equal." We now practically read it "all men are created equal, except Negroes." When the Know-Nothings get control, it will read "all men are created equal, except Negroes, foreigners and Catholics." When it comes to this, I shall prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretense of loving liberty, to Russia for instance, where despotism can be taken pure and without the base alloy of hypocrisy.—(Nicolay and Hay, "Complete Works of Lincoln," Vol. II, p. 287).

Samuel Abell, a Protestant, was high sheriff of St. Mary's County, Maryland, when no Catholic could take the test-oath then required by a law established under William

and Mary of England, and which continued in force almost a hundred years. His wife was Ellen O'Brian, a fervent Irish Catholic. Samuel Abell wanted to make his son Philip a deputy sheriff. When the son read the oath which he was required to take, he refused to do so, to the great disappointment and displeasure of his father. Samuel Abell, on returning to his home, said to his wife: "Ellen, you have deceived me!" "Samuel Abell," she replied, with streaming eyes, "I have never deceived you! Not once since you took me to wife have I disobeyed you. If Phil has learned to respect his mother's religion, it is God's grace, not his mother's instructions."

The mother had been permitted to bring up the girls in her religion, but she was not allowed to have any control in shaping the faith of her sons. She had never tried to influence her son Philip, but evidently he had quietly imbibed her principles. The father, on his deathbed, became a Catholic. In 1788, their son Robert took his family to Kentucky. He married Margaret Mills, a Catholic, and they had ten children, seven sons and three daughters. One of the sons was the distinguished priest, the Reverend Robert A. Abell, who was born in 1792, in what was then Washington, but is now Marion County, Kentucky.

The first Constitution of Kentucky was adopted in 1792. Samuel McDowell was the president of the convention. The second became effective on August 17, 1799. The only Catholic in the second convention was Robert Abell. He and Felix Grundy represented Washington County. Abell had been a member of the Legislature from Nelson County in 1792, and the County of Washington in 1795, and was finally a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1799. He was a man of exceptional ability and high character and was popular with all classes. To be elected to the Constitutional Convention was then, and still is, considered a high honor.

In the Constitutional Convention of 1849-1850, which

prepared the third Constitution, the delegates from the City of Louisville were James Rudd and William Preston. The latter, a non-Catholic, served in the Legislature, and in Congress, and as Minister to Spain before the Civil War, and during that war was a major-general. He was educated by the Jesuits at Saint Joseph's College, Bardstown, Kentucky, and later at Yale University, and became a distinguished lawyer. His daughter, the widow of George M. Davie, of Louisville, a distinguished lawyer, later became a Catholic. General Preston, in the Convention of 1849-1850, defended the Catholics bravely against the assaults of a prominent Know-Nothing.

Captain James Rudd was born in Maryland on June 13, 1789. In 1796 his family had settled near Springfield, in Washington County, Kentucky. He removed to Louisville in 1808. It is said that he was the first Catholic who resided in that city and that he openly maintained his religious opinions. He raised a company of riflemen to join General Jackson in Louisiana; but, before he could get started on his journey, the news came of the victory at New Orleans. He was industrious, charitable, fair in his dealings, upright and successful in business, active in civic duties and was a member of the City Council twenty-five years. In 1831 and in 1840 he represented Louisville in the Legislature. At one time he and his brother, Doctor Christopher Rudd, of Washington County, and his brother, Major Richard Rudd, of Nelson County, were members in the same body. He was elected to the Constitutional Convention of 1849-1850. In 1821 he married Miss Nannie Phillips, and died on May 8, 1867, leaving a widow and seven children and a large estate. In that Convention was also Charles Cooper Kelly, of Washington County. He was a Catholic.

Ignatius A. Spalding, Sr., a delegate from Union County, was born in St. Mary's County, Maryland, in 1790, and was engaged in agriculture and merchandising. He

moved to Washington County, Kentucky, in 1830; later, to Union County. His wife, Ann Huston, was the daughter of William Huston, a lieutenant in Colonel William Washington's battalion in the Revolutionary War. For almost 137 years the Spalding name has been greatly respected in Kentucky.

In the Constitutional Convention of 1890-1891, which sat eight months and which had a hundred members, there were three Catholics: Edward Emmett Kirwan, Ignatius A. Spalding, Jr., and myself. R. H. O'Hara, who came from a distinguished Catholic family, was an intelligent, well-educated and valuable member of the Convention, but he was not a practical Catholic.

The son of Ignatius A. Spalding, Sr., with the same name, was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1890-1891. The son was educated in Union County and at Saint Joseph's College in Bardstown. Admitted to the bar in 1860, he became a highly esteemed and successful lawyer. He was a member of both houses of the Legislature, railroad commissioner of the State five years, chairman of the Board of Railroad Commissioners four years and once a delegate-at-large from the State to a National Democratic Convention. His wife was Miss Susan A. Johnson. They had one son, J. J. Spalding, now a prominent lawyer of Atlanta, Georgia.

I have mentioned the Catholics who were members of the Constitutional Conventions because those bodies always contained a reasonable proportion of men then considered the ablest of the State. Politics did not have much to do with the selection of the members. These men had to deal with law and government in a general, large way. They had no party-platform to warp or guide them in their task. Their success required more ability and less regard to political questions or associations than would be required in a legislature or in Congress. I shall now turn to some of the distinguished Catholic lawyers.

The law is a jealous mistress. It allows scant time for literature or politics. Its triumphs are generally evanescent. When distinction is gained, its rewards are substantial and gratifying. They give, if not fame, at least high rank and independence. No Catholic lawyer has ever been a judge of the Court of Appeals, the highest court of Kentucky. Judge Frank M. Tracy, who was elected circuit judge in Covington, in 1909, is still in that office. Judge Matt O'Doherty was once appointed circuit judge in Louisville to fill a vacancy, and later was elected for a term of six years, but resigned to resume the practice of law. He was succeeded by Judge Walter P. Lincoln, who continued in office until the end of 1921. Judge R. W. Slack, of Owensboro, was elected circuit judge in November, 1915, for a term of six years, but is no longer on the bench. These four jurists are Catholics and able lawyers.

Judge James O'Hara, Jr., of Covington, was born in Owen County, on May 6, 1825. His father, James O'Hara, Sr., was born in Ireland, in 1785, and emigrated with his wife and children to Kentucky. James O'Hara, Sr., was educated by his elder brother, Kane O'Hara, known in Kentucky as a teacher of rare ability. While he was teaching, near Louisville, one of his pupils was General Zachary Taylor. Kane O'Hara was one of three brothers who went from Ireland to Kentucky. Theodore O'Hara, the famous soldier-poet, who wrote "The Bivouac of the Dead," was a first cousin of Judge James J. O'Hara, Jr.

James O'Hara, Sr., also became a teacher and then a lawyer in Owen County, in 1823. His son, Judge James J. O'Hara, educated at Saint Mary's College near Lebanon, was admitted to the bar in 1851, and was a partner of John G. Carlisle, Secretary of the Treasury under President Cleveland. In 1868, Judge O'Hara was elected circuit judge for six years. He resigned on June 1, 1874, and became a partner of John W. Stevenson, who had been

Governor of Kentucky and was then in the United States Senate.

James William Bryan, of Covington, was born on June 8, 1873, in Bourbon County, of Irish parents. He graduated at the Kentucky Wesleyan College in June, 1873, and was admitted to the bar in 1875. He was an attractive, popular man, a successful lawyer and an able speaker. He was elected State senator in 1885 for four years. In May, 1887, he was nominated and elected Lieutenant-Governor, when General Simon Bolivar Buckner was chosen Governor.

Clement S. Hill, of Lebanon, a successful and able lawyer, was a member of Congress in 1854, but refused to run for re-election in 1855, because the Know-Nothings were then in control in Kentucky, and he knew they would oppose him.

Judge William E. Russell, a convert, was elected circuit judge in August, 1886, for a term of six years. After that he practiced law in Lebanon. He was an industrious, able lawyer and an excellent speaker and highly esteemed by all his associates.

Judge John E. Newman was chosen circuit judge about 1862, for a term of six years. He was born in Spencer County, on November 9, 1819. He began the practice of law in Smithland and subsequently removed to Bardstown, and soon had the reputation of being one of the ablest lawyers in the State. His duties as circuit judge were discharged with signal ability. Before the expiration of his term, he was offered by the Governor, a seat on the bench of the Court of Appeals, but he declined to surrender the office of circuit judge, to which he had been elected. When his term expired, he removed to Louisville to practice law. Here he was soon regarded as in the front rank of his profession and joined the firm of Harlan, Newman & Bristow. John M. Harlan became a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States and Benjamin H. Bristow, Sec-

retary of the Treasury under Grant. Judge Newman published the best book ever written by a Kentucky lawyer, "Pleading and Practice," which has gone through three editions, two of them after his death. He also prepared a work on Equity Jurisprudence, but his death on April 2, 1873, prevented its publication.

John Rowan, born in Pennsylvania in 1771, went to Kentucky in 1783, and died in Louisville on July 13, 1843. He was one of the greatest lawyers that ever practiced in Kentucky, but not a Catholic. His wife embraced the Faith and, with his full consent, reared their children in it. In his home at Bardstown, widely known as Federal Hill, Stephen Collins Foster wrote his famous song, "My Old Kentucky Home." With money obtained by private subscription and with a small appropriation from the State, this house has been bought and dedicated to his memory and that of Foster and will be forever maintained as one of the historic monuments in Kentucky.

Isaac Caldwell, born on January 30, 1824, near Columbia, Adair County, Kentucky, was educated in Kentucky, admitted to the bar and moved to Louisville, in 1852. He was an industrious and able lawyer and wielded a powerful influence in a court and on a jury. At his death he was generally regarded as the head of the bar of Kentucky. He was not a Catholic, but his wife and children were.

In the Southern States, excepting Louisiana, the political atmosphere is not favorable to Catholics. Considering the unfavorable political conditions in which Catholic men of Kentucky have lived, it is not surprising that more of them have not obtained a high office. In 1835, 1855, 1875 and 1894-5, anti-Catholic propaganda was artfully worked up for this species of ostracism and was successful. In 1922, like disreputable means were used for the same purposes. But for the Great War of 1914-1918, the twenty-year recurrence of inflamed bigotry would have come in 1914. Each generation of voters apparently must be fooled

St. Louis Cathedral

for a while by bigots and cunning politicians into a criminal conspiracy to nullify secretly constitutional provisions for the protection of every citizen's right to religious liberty. Lies, slanders and libels, gross and monstrous, are circulated first secretly and then openly. After three or four years, with better information and more reason and with fuller knowledge of the bad character or selfish motives of the propagandists, comes a saner public opinion; but, in the meantime, much cruel injustice has been done to many innocent, worthy men and women without any compensation or relief.

# LEADERS OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY

REVEREND LAWRENCE J. KENNY, S. J.

INDUSTRY, under the ægis of their most Catholic Majesties of Spain, came with its wonted clatter, though but tentatively, into the Valley of the Mississippi in 1541; commerce waited almost a century and a half and crept in at length with the Lilies of France; the Flag of the Free arrived after another equally long period of silence, but since its coming, commerce and industry have made this valley their chosen home.

*Spain, 1541.*—The eye of Romance has been caught by the appearance of De Soto and his cavalcade of proud hidalgos, as they, the first white adventurers upon the scene, enter at the eastern wings of what has well been termed the grandest stage in all of Nature's vast domains, the boundless plains of mid-America. The lapse of time has cast a misty dimness about De Soto and the other actors in the opening scene, so that their motives and all their movements have come to seem altogether unreal, futile, fantastic. But as a matter of cold fact, their coming was a simple business enterprise. De Soto was mine prospecting. His kinsman, Cortez, had won wealth and power, while he introduced a higher civilization into the plateau of Mexico; and De Soto himself had helped Pizarro to draw from the veins of the Cordilleras of Peru the mineral wealth that put new vitality into the industry of Europe. He and his 600 brave followers were justified in hoping that the unpenetrated regions of this Northern continent

[1] The Gulf coast and the Great Lakes region are not included in this survey.

[2] Every proper name in this paper is, I believe, that of a Catholic. It is not mine to judge how loyal, or the contrary, to the Catholic ideals of holiness.

might contribute equally, through their industry, to personal profit and the world's advancement.

De Soto sought for gold. He sought wisely. No other discovery under the circumstances could have repaid investment. No doubt many of the learned men in his party saw the endless possibilities in this great valley for marketing in farm products, in timber, in fish and meat and leather, in fuel, and in the less precious metals. But the market for these commodities, without which their value is nil, was at that time too far removed and too difficult of access to merit a serious consideration of utilizing the bright prospects. He found no gold in all his thousands of miles of wandering. The riches that he had amassed with so much cost of sweat and blood among the peaks of the Southern Hemisphere were poured out like water in the long unavailing quest through our Northern valley, and his life went out also; he found but a grave.

Financially, De Soto's career in these parts was a failure. But he was no failure. He lived a man's life and died a gallant and a holy death, crowned with one of those rare poetic justices, which when they occur, fascinate the imagination and inspire Art to enshrine their memory: he was buried in the waves of the great river he had discovered. The perpetuation of his achievement is insured by our National Government; a great painting representing De Soto discovering the Mississippi, the leader of all other leaders of industry in the Mississippi Valley, adorns the walls of the Capitol in Washington. No doubt some fortunate Americans have copies of this masterpiece in their strong boxes to-day; for the Treasury Department many years ago, when it still had a sense of art, engraved this picture on a $500 government note that circulated far and wide as recompense for most modest industry.

The Spanish Flag came into the valley again, this time at the west wing of the stage with "the most brilliant company," as the historian Castaneda says, "that ever collected

in the Indies to go in search of new lands." The leader was Coronado, and he had with him "two hundred and fifty Spaniards on horseback and about three thousand Indians more or less." From Guaymas on the Pacific slope of Mexico, over the mountains, across unknown rivers, along great stretches of sun-baked deserts and alkali wastes, out into the buffalo plains even to where the Missouri rolls its yellow floods, these, too, came in search for the gold that was not to be found. In the midsummer of 1541, the two expeditions, that of De Soto's 600 from Cuba and that of Coronado's 3000 from Mexico, each unaware of the other's presence, rested within a comparatively short distance from one another in the wide plains of the Trans-Mississippi.

These same plains, 300 years later, in the days of the forty-niners, when California was new, were to see many another drove of gold-seeking adventurers. But there were to be never again expeditions like those of the Spaniards. Never again were there to be such numbers in one organization, never again such lavish outlay of expenditure. The Spaniards were plungers; they won, or lost all. But the conspicuous feature that was to be never again was the presence of chaplains at the head of every party to look after the best interests of the aborigines, to sanctify even the seeking of gold, and to consecrate each recurring day with the morning sacrifice and common prayer. These men of God made sure that no matter how ill-fated might be the search for the gold that perisheth, there could be no failure in securing the eternal inheritance of the Christian's golden hope. One of these chaplains, an humble son of Saint Francis, is likely to be remembered longest of all of Coronado's cavalcade. The others returned empty handed whence they came. He remained in Kansas to traffic there in souls and won the first martyr's crown in what is to-day the continental United States. Father John de Padilla fell near Fort Riley, at what is thought to be the very central point of our land.

The energetic strivings of the Spaniards would doubtless have been awarded success in the less forbidding slopes of California or in the gulches of Colorado, had not the seas between Europe and America in the immediately subsequent period become too dangerous for honest enterprise. The Spanish Main, as the Atlantic was then called, became infested with Elizabethan pirates. Our literature likes to call them sea dogs, but in plain prose they were robbers and murderers. They operated, even in time of peace, under governmental sanction, and Spain, reluctant to engage in war, permitted zeal for discovery to slacken. She forgot the Mississippi, and seemed desirous that the world should not know of the wondrous valley of the West, until she might come again and take permanent possession. She did return, but New France had in the meantime spread out from the Saint Lawrence valley over the region of the Great Lakes and down the Mississippi to the Gulf.

*France, 1673.*—France and the fur-trade are almost one and the same thing in early American commercial history. It is not known and can never be ascertained at how early a date or how far into the hitherto undiscovered districts of our inlands the *courier-des-bois* and the trappers from Quebec, and later from Kaskaskia, penetrated the plains and the mountains. Nothing stopped them except the absence of game, for they were one of the most fearless and tireless class of men that ever travelled the face of the earth. But hunters do not carry national sovereignty with them even though they happen into new or unclaimed territory. According to the international law of those days, as recognized at least on paper even by outlaw nations, there was no justification for permanent penetration of uncivilized lands except by the missionary. He could go to "teach all nations." He was not to neglect the laws of human prudence in his going, and his brother or friend, even though a soldier, might accompany him to

protect his life, and might deal or trade in any honest manner with the tribes.

So it was that Marquette, with his friend Joliet, came down the Mississippi, its first white explorers, in the summer of 1673. The majesty of France overshadowed them like a protecting genius all the way, the while it assumed the protectorate over the virgin plains and their benighted denizens alike. Lovers of the picturesque, like Parkman, amplify on the coming hither of La Salle, with the faithful Tonti, ten years later. But like his fine boat, the Griffin, with which he inaugurated navigation on the Lakes, all other of La Salle's projects went on the rocks for want of a helmsman. The work into which he had put so large an outlay had all to be done over, and it was the more difficult of accomplishment owing to his failure. His flamboyant advertising called the attention of rival nations to the great valley, and had it not been for one of the sons of that most entrancing of contemporary characters, Charles Le Moyne, seven-fold brave in his seven brave sons, the French would have lost the Mississippi at the outset. That son, Bienville, built New Orleans, and so held the key to the valley, but not a month too soon.

Empire building is the greatest of industries, and all Frenchmen here from 1673 and even a little earlier, down to 1800 and much later, might be happily described—the more so as they were mostly Canadians—as beavers at this work. Their number was always very small, but they laid such hold upon the friendship of the indigenes that their power was as ten. Had not the home government trafficked them away in a peace treaty, to which they loyally submitted, they could not have been dispossessed. The eastern moiety of the valley went to England at the Treaty of Paris, in 1763; the western part had been passed over to Spain the preceding year. Fort Crevecœur and the Rock on the Illinois River, Prairie du Chien, Cahokia, Fort Chartres, and Kaskaskia on the eastern bank of the

Mississippi, and Sainte Genevieve, the solitary settlement on the Spanish bank, each tells a brave story of adventure, of patience, of generosity, of religion, built upon industry and commerce of the most laborious and strenuous nature, but on so small a scale withal that for the larger merchanting on the Mississippi in the French days, one must go beyond the seas to the court of France.

In 1712, Crozat, once a peasant lad, but now the financier of kings, secured a charter from Louis XIV granting him for a proper consideration the entire Louisiana territory and exclusive control of all its commerce. This province reached the headwaters of the River Saint Louis (the Mississippi), the Saint Philip (the Missouri) and the Saint Jerome, (which meant from the headwaters of the Wabash to the mouth of the Ohio). Crozat did not distinguish himself as a colonizer, and his grant passed early into the hands of the famous "Royal Company of the Indies," whose operations both in Europe and America began to assume gigantic proportions. Fort Chartres was begun and made the seat of government for Upper Louisiana; though modest at its inception, this structure under Governor MacCarthy became "the best built fort in North America" and cannot have cost less than a million dollars. Colonies came out from France, and settled mostly near New Orleans; but Philip Renault brought 200 miners from Europe and en route purchased 500 Negroes at San Domingo, with which force he began energetically to exploit the lead mines of the Ozarks. After twenty years, when age had dulled the edge of his zest and ambition, he returned to France, and his work was discontinued. If there are any legal heirs of his to-day they could still prosecute the right to those extensive claims which are now almost fabulous in value. But it was not Fort Chartres or colonies or lead mines that brought fame to the Royal Company of the Indies. John Law, the Scotchman, became the head of this corporation, and blew the glorious Mississippi

bubble in whose brilliant glintings the treasury of France might be seen filled to plethora with wealth acquired by sale of land along the great American waterway. France and all Europe grew dizzy under the wizardry of his financial manipulations. Government notes leaped from twenty-two per cent. to 1300. But the bubble broke, rather, it is true, from sudden inflation, than from any inherent defect in the project; and the vaults of the kings of France never again carried full credit, after (and somewhat owing to) the Mississippi misfortune, until kings ceased to be in France.

*Spain, West of the River, 1762.*—With the transfer of the western part of the French territory to Spain, there sprang up a little town on the Mississippi's western bank, which became at once the emporium of the trade in peltries; and as the city of St. Louis, it is to-day the greatest fur market in the world. It is no longer the leading industry that it was in the days when the Grand Monarch made fur-wearing the style for all the palaces and courts of the world, but it continued through long years, even well into the days of the American occupation, the chief industry of the West. The successors of the early trappers, Chouteaus, Bertholds, Cabannes, Menards and Prattes, continued the work of empire building and after France had cast them off they became the builders of America. Joseph Christy Bell, in his recent "Opening a Highway to the Pacific," one of the Columbia University studies in History and Economics, says that it was not Lewis and Clarke, but the fur traders from St. Louis who initiated the movement that finally ousted England from her hold on what is to-day Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and western Montana, a section more than twice the size of all New England with New York thrown in, and certain in the near future to take a conspicuous part in the evolution of world events.

*America, East of the River, 1778.*—We have said nothing of England's tenure east of the river, for during her

brief occupancy of fifteen years there was practically no industry: it was forbidden by law. The trade of the colonies might not flow save towards the East. The trans-Appalachia was made an Indian reserve. But on July 4, 1778, some detachments of Revolutionary soldiers from Virginia captured what had been the mission house of the Jesuits at Kaskaskia, Illinois, where the British commandant had taken up abode, and by so doing they won the West and doubled the area of the thirteen hard pressed colonies. Tennessee, Kentucky, and later Ohio, began to fill with a hardy population, made up largely of indentured Irish servants, escaping from the aristocratic coast into the free life of the West. The origin of Ohio, however, is French, and particularly typical and interesting.

The approved text books begin the story of Ohio with the founding of Marietta by a little group of New Englanders, in 1789. One must wonder why these sons of the Puritans should have chosen to designate their settlement with a name so distinctively French and royalist. It is a story of commerce, let us investigate.

It was just at this time that the mobs of Paris were driving thousands of the nobles of France to look to foreign lands for safety. There were not wanting among this nobility men who might hope to add new glories to those of their nation's ancient days by building a thriving colony of their people out where the world was new. The Count de Lassus de Luziére, whose ancestors had been lords of the world in the days of the Crusaders, like several of his friends, determined to purchase a lordly estate on the river which his countrymen knew as "The Beautiful." An Ohio Company, the pillar and financial support of the Marietta colony, was just then offering 10,000 square miles of Ohio land for sale in the Paris markets. It had as yet scarcely enough money to pay for preëmption rights, but it hoped that Paris sales, at exorbitant prices, would quickly enable it to meet all obligations. In other words, the

founders of Ohio lived on the hopes of entrapping fleeing French nobles, and of bringing them where they might be relieved of any financial packs they might have brought from the conflagration at home. The scheme only partly succeeded. Eight hundred families sailed for America in 1790, and the agent of the Ohio Company, who had sold them full title to the land to which, as yet, he had no title whatever, hoped that a quarter of a million would quickly follow. But the first arrivals found out at once that their purchases were void. Very few more followed. Many of those who had come out paid again, and began to form a colony at Gallipolis; and again through some chicanery, as it is said, this second payment secured no property. They paid the Marietta leaders, Ohio's founders, three times before they became owners. Most did not pay, they moved away. But it was the expectation of this financing from France that made Marietta the corner stone of Ohio. The name is an abridgement of Marie Antoinette, and it was invented as a lure to the lovers of that unfortunate queen, enabling New England to ride into Ohio on the backs of the nobles of France in their hour of flight and terror.

Tennessee's American history opens with John Sevier, a Frenchman, whose proper name was probably Xavier. He was not a Catholic, but there came over the mountains with his party more substantial and less rampageous state makers, conspicuous among whom was James White, who was a Catholic, and was the grandfather of Edward White, late Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court.

Kentucky's early American days are likewise absorbed in the memory of one man. It is not quite certain that Daniel Boone was not a Catholic; many of his companions were. We shall mention him again.

*America, 1804.*—We called Ohio's case typical. That appreciation of the value of real estate, which William the Norman carried from France to the land of the Angles and Saxons, was brought from England to America by Puritan

and Cavalier alike. The Norman battle-axe could not have served them better in crushing every opposition in their path in America than that innate eagerness to have and to hold the land. The Indian was swept off the earth when he stood in the way of the fierce onrush of this land hunger. The Frenchman, even though he was the descendant of the Norman himself, likewise largely disappeared before the ruthlessness of this process of constant irresistible trench advancement.

Real estate, after empire building, was the most important American industry. How paramount it became is only now beginning to be realized as its day has passed forever, and we can stand out from under it and view its huge bulk. A recent enthusiastic biographer of the Emancipator of the Negro maintains that it was the land question and not slavery that in the last analysis embroiled our nation in its civil war; that the struggle was for the survival and extension of the landed estates of the slave holder as against the multiplication of the small properties in the West which the Government was putting at the disposal of the common people. This writer says that Liberty, which was to the Frenchman a quality of soul, was to the intruders into the old Louisiana nothing more incorporeal than the hope of free possession of a fair number of productive acres.

With the transfer of upper Louisiana to America, there crowded into that territory a host of realtors that, like a cloud of locusts, ate up the land. Even the Gallipolis accession to the Trans-Mississippi population had not learned to protect themselves; and Daniel Boone, who came to Missouri as a member of that Catholic colony, was here dispossessed again of his land, as he had been previously in Kentucky. De Lassus, the governor of Upper Louisiana, who, almost in spite of themselves, saved their property for many of the old inhabitants, lost his own fortune so that his descendants, now greatly reduced, are still striving

after more than a century to obtain recognition of their title to a small estate near the village that bears his name.

All the Spanish and many of the French names began at once to lose their places of eminence in business life at the American invasion. Happily we had some who were able to take their posts. Men like John Mullanphy and J. B. C. Lucas came from over the mountains, where they had served an apprenticeship in American methods, and knew when to buy and when to sell and how to make legal record of their honest holdings. When, for instance, Saint Vrain, the brother of Governor De Lassus, had striven for years in vain to have his possessions certified by the American land commissioners, he threw everything into the market for a song. Mullanphy purchased the claim, and with no difficulty, secured full title. This deal placed him at the head of Western real estate merchants. The Morrisons also came into leadership in business, in politics, and especially in social life, at this period. As early as 1804, William Morrison was organizing a St. Louis-Sante Fé expedition, the forerunner of the Santa Fé trail, which itself developed by degrees into the route of one of our great trans-continental railways.

We have reached our own day. The empire is built and its great spaces occupied. There yet remains for men to strengthen, to fill in, and to sustain. Our people are here; wherever the wheels of industry are turning or the wings of commerce fly, under the American régime they are represented in fair proportion to their ability. If we should attempt to list a fraction of the industries in which they are doing leaders' parts in the work of sustaining the nation's life, the roster would be a mere directory. It must not be passed over, however, that the cast-steel arch bridge which spans the mightiest of rivers, and which was, at the time of its construction, the most stupendous work of its kind in the world, bears the name and commemorates the industry of James B. Eads; and the great dam that com-

mands the stream at Keokuk and compels it to pay a toll in light and heat to distant towns and cities, was, in some measure, financed by James Campbell. It is doubtless the maintenance of a tradition that the finest boats on the waters of the river to-day are those of the Streckfus Brothers; and that the leader of all shipbuilders of all times, Edward Hurley, of Galesburg, Illinois, should be a native of the valley of the Mississippi.

Perhaps we should not have passed over navigation so lightly. It is impossible to realize at present the importance that the commerce on the Mississippi enjoyed when it was largely in our hands before the Civil War. Suffice it to say that the tonnage was for a considerable period greater than that of the whole of the British Empire. Art and luxury spared no efforts to beguile the long hours of steamship travel, and our national sport was then to watch or follow the records of the boat races. The J. M. White, the property of Robert Chouteau, was no doubt the swiftest craft of the time, and it made the trip from New Orleans to St. Louis in as many days as it had required months to go over the same route in the early days.

The coming of the railroads ruined inland navigation. But first a word about the telegraph that pioneered and guarded the way for the layers of the rails. The O'Reilly telegraph lines, even for some years after the Western Union absorbed practically all others, continued to be the principal carrier of Western messages. The Creighton brothers, of Omaha, had the distinction of constructing the telegraphic routes that first joined the Eastern and Western States, and made possible a straight-through message from Atlantic cities to San Francisco.

Doubtless the greatest of railroad builders was James J. Hill. Others may have rivalled or even surpassed him in gathering more mileage under their control through manipulation of the stock markets, but he was above all a builder. The fact that it is his portrait which forms the

frontispiece of "The Railroad Builders" in the Chronicles-of-America series of historical studies indicates the position that time is assigning him in the story of modern transportation. Mr. Hill says of the railroad that "next to the Christian religion and the common schools, no other single work enters in the welfare and happiness of a people to the same extent as the railway; no other work could have made it possible to occupy the enormous stretches through the interior of our country, and people them with cities, towns, and villages." He was a unique figure in history in conquering a savage world and bringing it to civilization. His achievements surpass that of the old time kings in this respect; for when we behold him not merely advancing further and further into the limitless plains of the Dakotas and surmounting the fastnesses of the Rockies, but carrying the commerce of the Great Lakes to lay it at the doors of China, the famous expeditions of Alexander and of Cæsar seem at least in some regards insignificant in comparison.

With the telegraph, navigation, and the railroads, we may be said to have fairly summarized the chief divisions of commerce; and in these activities surely our people have been second to none. But industry, unlike commerce, will not submit to convenient summarization. An eagle-eye view of just some few of the outstanding figures in industry then will have to evidence our leadership in these lines.

Beginning at the extreme East, we find ourselves still in this far-reaching valley of the Mississippi in Cambria County, Pennsylvania. Here Charles Schwab, the master of the world of steel, first saw the light. William Kelly, who invented several other things, and the Bessemer process in America, before Bessemer had the same process patented in England, was a native of Pittsburgh, and lived and died in Kentucky.

Focussing our glance for a moment on the old New England-built city of Cincinnati, where the Germans at an

early period made art itself almost an industry, one may observe crowning one of its hilltops the Rookwood Pottery, from whose ovens the disciples of Mrs. Bellamy Storer bring out their unique and exquisite ceramics. Not far away is the atelier of Barnhorn, and the more than palatial hotel of Sinton. Everywhere, without knowing it, one sees something of the real estate of Frederick Schmidt. The abattoirs of General Ryan are out of view, but dimly in the west rises the Music Hall, which recalls the civic enthusiasm of Reuben Springer.

There are at least three men named Walsh in the Mississippi Valley, one in Cincinnati, another in Missouri, and the third in Colorado, who are doubtless known everywhere on the earth to persons engaged internationally in their respective industries. They are not related; but others who were kinsmen, such as the Cunningham brothers and the Slevins of former days, and the Lawler brothers, originally of Wisconsin, and the Foley brothers, of Minnesota, nearer our own times, have not been able to confine their activities within the compass of one or two States. We should not pass from Ohio without mentioning the Rends in the Eastern coal fields.

Roger Sullivan's place of birth was not in the lake region, but in this valley. It is well known how he reached affluence by bringing light to the dark places of Chicago at a lower cost than had been thought possible. The name of Senator Bogy, of Missouri, which was long synonymous with the mining of Iron Mountain, and Pilot Knob, calls for mention. The Corbys in St. Joseph, and the Corrigans in Kansas City, Missouri, must be noted. The Cudahys in Kansas City, Kansas, and in South Omaha, Nebraska, ship beef from the wide plains of the West to the tables of the palaces of every continent. The twin cities of Minnesota suggest a series of names from their origin in the days of Larpenteur, through Prince who was a prince of St. Paul, down to Kelley, Regan, Donaldson, and

Smith. Finally in the far West, where Marcus Daly was recently in supreme control at the mines, as was Thomas Carter in the forum, John Ryan is to-day subduing the giants of the forests and sending them forth for the conquest of earth and sea and sky. In the plains of Wyoming, the stock ranches of Timothy Kinney teem with herds never dreamt of by kings in their little day. Dennis Sullivan, in Colorado, also bred cattle, while he sank mines into the depths of the earth, carried on a banking business, and controlled the fuel and iron trade.

There was probably no time and no place of any importance in which some of our people have not been leaders in banking. Permit me to name Julius S. Walsh, a descendant of DeMun of the Gallipolis colony, George W. Wilson and William H. Lee. Then there are the Benoists, scions of that old LeMoyne of Quebec, whose son built New Orleans.

The general atlases begin now to carry the names of several of our leaders in the names that cities have assumed in their honor; to mention only the better known: St. Joseph received its name from Joseph Robidoux; Pierre, the capital city of South Dakota, is named from Pierre Chouteau, whose family helped in the founding of St. Louis and Kansas City. Ste. Genevieve and St. Charles hark back to days of Spanish sovereignty, as Lafayette in Indiana and Louisville in Kentucky recall old France. Cape Girardeau was built as a refuge by Lorimier for his Wyandottes when driven from Ohio. Laramie, Wyoming, is named from one of his family. The metropolis of Iowa keeps alive the memory of Julien Dubuque, who was dispossessed there by the people of land hunger, so that of his thousands of acres nothing remains but a name. Anthony LeClere was the founder of Davenport. St. Paul took its name from the missionary chapel of Father Gaultier. Knoxville, in the far-off corner of Tennessee, was founded by James White.

We have kept for the last the names of some men, who by their industry, from their sweat and blood, have trans-

muted the full resources of nature into heavenly pavement, have transformed various corners of the valley into Bethels, where wayfarers here below may commune with a better world; such are, besides James J. Hill, who endowed the seminary of St. Paul; J. K. Mullen, who made possible the consecration of the Cathedral of Denver; John A. Creighton, of Omaha, founder of the University that bears his name; Senator Kearns, long connected with the Black Hills, benefactor of the Hospital in Salt Lake City; J. Z. Miller, president of the Reserve Bank of Kansas City, restorer of storm-razed homes of prayer in distant Texas; Mrs. Peter, of Cincinnati, builder of the home of the Poor Clares; James Farrell, of Pittsburgh, sustainer of the Foreign Service School of Georgetown University; Patrick Poland, whose memory is recalled by the Memorial Building of Saint Xavier College; Routt, whose name is borne by the College he inaugurated at Jacksonville, Illinois; William C. McBride, founder of the William C. McBride High School, and James Campbell, who willed his millions to the St. Louis University Medical School.

The truest Catholic leaders ever remain unknown. We are a constructive race. As in the coral islands that dot the deep seas, the little animals give their lives beneath the surface that their successors may come into view above the waves, so among us, there are many hidden and unknown who are our true foundations; if they were withdrawn, the structures of all others would tumble down in ruins. They shall have praise when praise is true, and fair and full, and fame when fame is everlasting.

# THE CATHOLIC OF THE SOUTH

CHARLES I. DENECHAUD, ESQ.

TO the Catholic pioneer and missioner the South is indebted for its early history, to the Catholic settler for its development and transition from the colonial period to its advent into the sisterhood of States. While its earliest traditions are Catholic, the practical cessation of Catholic immigration resulting from the vicissitudes of the Church under successive changes of territorial jurisdiction hindered to a large extent its early growth and retarded its development. During the French and Spanish régimes Catholic settlers established themselves in their colonies where, under the influence of their co-nationalists in religion, they followed their pursuits, content with their new lot. The French found themselves principally in the vicinity of the lower Mississippi and radiating from New Orleans, which was founded by Bienville in 1718, following the establishment by Iberville of the colony of Louisiana, at Biloxi, in 1699. The Spaniards were to the east, having as their starting point St. Augustine, which was founded in 1565. The English and their missionaries were in Maryland, where they settled in 1634. The life of these settlers as time wore on, became disheartening, for, colonists as they were, they were not consulted as to transfers of governments, with their attendant changes in forms of civil and Church authority. With the Spanish colonists, we observe almost a collapse of the Church. The French, however, survived the test of these years of strife, and the Church and its influence was preserved, but its expansion checked.

At the time the United States acquired the Louisiana territory and the lands to the east of the Mississippi, we

find that Catholic immigration for the most part settled in the North and East. Immigration to the United States (all creeds) to 1850 was approximately 2,250,000, of which slightly more than 300,000 came to the South. Thus the South did not continue to enjoy that element of new manhood and womanhood which it so needed to populate its vast area and put into cultivation its fertile lands.

There are numerous reasons advanced as to why the immigrant did not seek the South as the chosen locality for himself and his posterity. Principally among them is the fact that he felt unadapted for agricultural pursuits in a new field and under changed conditions. Cotton, tobacco, rice and sugar cane culture were new to him, and again, the negro, whose presence in the South had grown steadily from the introduction of slavery in the early part of the seventeenth century, limited the opportunities of the European laborer. While in the North and East there was presented to him a diversity of pursuits in manufacture and industrial branches where his skill or his sheer manual labor could find occupation.

With stunted immigration and with few avenues of development and with limited resources, thus the South found itself in the early sixties, when the Catholic of the South, for a cause dear to him and in which he believed, fought his brothers and fellow men of the North. At the side of each stood the Catholic chaplain, and in the hospitals of both were found those angels of solace, the Catholic nuns, ministering to all alike.

The causes and the results of that great fratricidal conflict are known to all, but, possibly all have not fully appreciated its depressing effect upon the South. The period of reconstruction was fraught with misery and poverty, and it is a glowing tribute to that fast dying generation that the South emerged when it did from the abyss of depression of war and post-war conditions. Industries it had none. Its hereditary resources were agricul-

ture, but it required both labor and money again to turn the plow and make the soil once more productive. Its labor was gone, its money spent. At that period it offered but a future of toil and continued privation to the Southerner, and attracted to its southlands but few legitimate settlers and some bold adventurers. But the South persevered and with time the wound healed; she expelled the exploiters and welcomed her Northern brothers who then came in growing numbers.

But let us see the part the Catholic took in the South's development. Immigration, as we have noted, was restricted by causes which were largely economic; the South could not offer the new comers to American shores that which the North held out to them. The negro was by nature and temperament adapted to Southern agricultural conditions. He was, and is, at his best on the Southern farm or rather, the Southern plantation.

This cutting off of the Europeans, who, in large numbers, were Catholic, not only affected the general census of the Southern States during their early days, but in a greater proportion mitigated against the increase in Catholic population. Then, too, one must remember that what intimidated the Catholic was the antipathy to the Catholic Church.

It was a Catholic who first enunciated and caused to be put into effect in Maryland the great principle, the freedom of religious belief, upon the permanency of which this country must rely for its stability. The "Toleration Act" as passed by the Provisional General Assembly in 1649 was not destined to endure for long. After Lord Baltimore lost control of the colony it was repealed by a body which constituted itself into a general assembly and to which no Catholics were eligible. Subsequently there was enacted legislation preventing them from practicing their religion. The principles of the Toleration Act were reënacted into a law and placed upon the statute books when Baltimore

regained his place in the colony, there to remain until its destinies were again wrested from Catholic control, some thirty years later. In 1697 religious liberty was accorded to all except "Papists," in South Carolina. The clause that no one should hold office who denied the truth of the Protestant religion formed part of the North Carolina constistitution from 1776 to 1835.

It is but natural to perceive that with such hostile legislation, the Catholic finding himself in a proscribed class, did not migrate to these States, and those who could left their inhospitable surroundings, and it is no stretch of the imagination to appreciate the feeling inherited and handed down by succeeding generations among those people whose ancestors were the authors of these inimical laws. True it is that in time the light of reason and common decency and justice and popular opinion caused the repeal of all such laws, but the effect of their original intrusion into the statutes was lasting, and caused the Catholic of those days to seek a safer haven, with the result that he came South in smaller numbers and by this disproportionment in population there grew the feeling we find to-day.

The Catholic population whose numerical strength in the South was centered principally in and around the dioceses of Baltimore and New Orleans made progress in those sections, but its growth was slow in other localities, and again, in others it was negligible and in some it fell off.

The strong impetus given our Faith by the early Calverts, the Carrolls and their adherents in Maryland, was such, that notwithstanding the recurring years of trials and oppression, the Catholic Church and its influence remained. Baltimore, our most ancient diocese, was established in 1789 and erected into an archdiocese in 1808. It has the distinction of being the first colony in the New World to enjoy religious freedom. Educationally this diocese has given to the country such institutions as Saint

Mary's Seminary and Georgetown University, both founded in the latter years of the eighteenth century, and thereafter Saint Charles, Loyola, Mount Saint Mary's, Rock Hill, and other creditable educational establishments. The "Catholic Directory" (from 1880 to 1920) gives its population as follows: 1880, 200,000; 1890, 225,000; 1900, 245,000; 1910, 260,000, and 1920, 273,200.

The Diocese of New Orleans received its stimulus from the ardent zeal of the early French and Spanish settlers and the indefatigable missionaries. The diocese was erected in April of 1793 and raised to an archdiocese in July, 1850. Over the spiritual as well as the temporal affairs of these settlers the hand of France, of Spain and of America has held sway. Jealousies and distrust occasioned by changes in authority arrested the growth of the early settlement and the development of the Church so auspiciously begun. The effect of the early fervor is felt throughout those sections of the Louisiana territory, where the missionaries and settlers remained for a time sufficiently long to identify themselves. The Jesuits and Capuchins and other missionaries made conversions in large numbers among the tribes wherever they were stationed and preserved the Faith within the colonists.

To the Ursulines and other religious Orders who followed them into these regions of rigorous endeavor, is largely due the high and noble standard of Southern womanhood. New Orleans boasts of many old and venerable Catholic academies and colleges and is the proud possessor of the oldest educational institution for women in the United States: the Ursuline Convent founded in 1727 and uinterruptedly continued since by the Ursuline Nuns, whose 1922 commencement announcement bears the enviable notation "194th commencement." These nuns likewise established the first hospital in the territory subsequently included in the Louisiana purchase.

In addition to its fine record the Archdiocese of New

Orleans is presently building a Major Seminary in New Orleans which will open its doors in 1923.

Loyola University (Jesuit) in New Orleans, is one of America's youngest universities, but one whose place for permanency and merit in the educational world is already assured.

The Catholic growth of the Diocese of New Orleans for the decades 1880 to 1920 ("Catholic Directory") is as follows: 1880, 250,000; 1890, 300,000; 1900, 325,000; 1910, 525,000; 1920, 426,338. To the 1920 figures, 426,338, must be added those of the Lafayette Diocese (Southwest Louisiana) 158,715; it was carved out of the Diocese of New Orleans in 1918.

In the Southern States of North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi and Arkansas the Catholic Church has met with almost unsurmountable obstacles brought about by a misconception of its tenets, a fear of the clergy, and the distrust of the Catholic laity. In urban localities where the masses see the Catholic churches and its adherents and observe other institutions of that religion functioning in their midst, there is much less misunderstanding. But in rural sections where there are no Catholic churches, no establishments under Catholic auspices (and there are many such localities in the South), those living within these localities are receiving as their sole food for thought upon this subject, the vicious and ungodly attacks on all who have taken Holy Orders, upon every edifice erected by the Catholic Church for the advancement of learning, alleviation of suffering, or uplifting of the fallen.

Following is a summary showing date of establishment and growth at different intervals of some of the Southern dioceses:

The Vicariate Apostolic of North Carolina was established and separated from the Diocese of Charleston in 1868 and had as its first vicar James Gibbons. In 1891

its Catholic population was 3000 and in 1922 ("Catholic Directory") 8254.

In South Carolina, Charleston was erected into a diocese in 1820 with John England as its first Bishop. In 1850 its Catholic population was 7300; 70 years after (1920) its population had grown to but 10,000.

In Georgia, the Diocese of Savannah was created in 1850. It numbered in 1870 20,000 within its fold and slightly less than that number in 1920.

The Diocese of Nashville, in Tennessee, was established in 1837. In 1850 it is credited with a population of 3000 which slowly increased to 28,000 in 1900. Twenty years later its population was 25,000.

The Diocese of St. Louis was erected in 1826 and raised to an archdiocese in 1847. Its population in 1860 was 120,000, in 1922, 425,692. Catholicism here has made fine progress and the future of the Church in this locality bids fair to increase in greater proportion in the years to come. St. Louis University, founded in 1818, is one of the nation's foremost institutions of learning.

In Texas the early missionaries did splendid work among the settlers and Indians. Their missions (as in California) remain as mute reminders of their zeal and hardships. Texas to-day has five dioceses: San Antonio, whose population in 1880 was 47,000, to which was added 100,000 in the succeeding forty years.

Galveston's population in 1870 was 15,000; in 1890, 42,000; in 1910, 57,000; in 1922, 89,616.

Dallas increased from 22,000 in 1900 to 60,000 in 1910, but in 1920 it numbered only 37,000, and increased to 40,000 in 1922.

Corpus Christi, established in 1912, has a present Catholic population of 145,000.

El Paso was erected into a diocese in 1914, and now numbers 103,307 Catholics.

The first four mentioned Texas dioceses are attached

to the Archdiocese of New Orleans, the latter to the Archdiocese of Santa Fe.

In Arkansas the Diocese of Little Rock was erected in 1844 with jurisdiction over Arkansas and Indian Territory. In 1905 the Diocese of Oklahoma was created and thereafter the Diocese of Little Rock included only the territory within the confines of the State of Arkansas. Little Rock's Catholic population in 1870 was but 2000; in 1880, 5000; 1890, 9000; 1900, 10,000; 1910, 22,000; 1920, 27,192; and for 1922 we find its population given as 23,192.

Oklahoma enjoyed an influx of population when, in 1889, large numbers of Catholics as well as others moved there to settle. This movement of settlers has continued with the State's commercial and industrial development. Oklahoma's Catholic population in 1922 is 56,965.

The Diocese of Natchez (comprising the whole of the State of Mississippi) was established in 1837. Its population to-day is 30,704.

The Diocese of Natchitoches was established in 1853 and became the Diocese of Alexandria in 1910. In 1870 it numbered 21,000, in 1900, 30,000, and now 43,312.

The Diocese of Mobile was erected in 1829. The Catholic population at the beginning of the Civil War was 12,000. In 1870 it was 11,000; in 1910, 19,000, and in 1922, 46,300.

The Diocese of St. Augustine was erected in 1870. Previous to this the Catholic Church had struggled since the founding of St. Augustine in 1565 with varying results. Two hundred years after the founding of the Church in Florida it had been all but wiped out. Thirty years after the establishment of the Diocese of St. Augustine its population numbered 7000. To-day it numbers 51,014.

The Diocese of Richmond established in 1821, its population in 1850 was 10,000, in 1900, 25,000, and in 1920 it numbered 42,800.

The Diocese of Covington established in 1853 had a

population of 20,000 in 1860; 54,624 in 1910 and 60,600 in 1922.

The Diocese of Louisville transferred in 1841 from the Diocese of Bardstown which had been established in 1808, had a population in 1870 of 100,000 and its population for 1922 is 120,289.

Apart from the institutions already noted there may be named, among the older ones, Saint Mary's University and Saint Edward's College in Texas, the Christian Brothers' College in Tennessee, Conception College and the Christian Brothers' College in Missouri, the College of the Immaculate Conception and Jefferson College in Louisiana, Saint Mary's College in North Carolina, Saint Mary's College in Kentucky and Spring Hill College and Saint Bernard's College in Alabama.

To the foregoing could be added a long line of colleges and academies, as well as universities from whose walls there also emerge annually in increasing numbers men and women of letters and of degrees in the professions, who carry with them into their world of service a well grounded knowledge of the things that are man's and are thoroughly enlightened as to those which are God's.

The parochial school system of the Southern dioceses has ever commanded the closest attention of the bishops, and notwithstanding the hostile attitude of legislatures and public school authorities in many of the States, its showing is most creditable. The unrelenting attacks upon the Catholic parochial school (sometimes covered up under pronouncements directed against "Private Schools"), have rallied to the side of the priest the Catholic parent, who to-day as never before realizes the great necessity for the training of the heart and the mind of the child at the same time.

Of the Catholics of the South who by their work, their personality and their example have left to posterity a cherished reverence and to their Southland an honored and

lasting memory, one could dwell at length, but let me here mention some whose place in history is national rather than sectional:

Archbishop John Carroll, America's first Catholic Bishop, born in Upper Marlboro, Maryland, in 1735.

Charles Carroll of Carrollton, born in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1737. His faith in the justice of America's cause was the great inspiration of his people.

James Cardinal Gibbons, born in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1834.

Father Abraham Joseph Ryan, the poet priest of the Civil War, author of "The Conquered Banner," born in Louisville, Kentucky, in 1839, but who spent much of his life in Mobile.

Father Adrien Emmanuel Rouquette, born in New Orleans in 1813, who consecrated his life to the welfare and salvation of the Indians and whose literary talents were recognized at home and abroad.

Admiral Raphael Semmes, of the Confederate Navy, who was commander of the famous "Alabama." Admiral Semmes left a number of literary works of merit. He was born in Charles County, Maryland, in 1809.

James Ryder Randall, born in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1834; scholar and writer, whose war lyric, "Maryland, My Maryland," is immortal.

Joel Chandler Harris of "Uncle Remus" fame, born in Eatonton, Georgia, in 1848. Mr. Harris became a convert late in life.

James Longstreet, Major-General in the Confederate Army, born at Edgefield, South Carolina, in 1821. He became a Catholic after the close of the Civil War.

William Gaston, born in New Berne, North Carolina, in 1778. Lawyer, jurist and statesman. It was he, who in 1835, induced the constitutional convention of North Carolina to remove the obnoxious barrier of religious discrimination.

Edward Douglass White, born in Lafourche Parish, Louisiana, in 1845. While a United States Senator from Louisiana he was appointed Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States in 1894 and became Chief Justice of that Court in 1910.

A word about the Catholic negro: The colored man in the old South for the most part led a shiftless life. When in need of work he was a good laborer, and if he had a trade, a good artisan, as a rule he was not constant, for when he "got ahead" he wanted to "lay off" until, in his vernacular, he was broke. But the negro of to-day is by far more industrious than those of twenty-five and fifty years ago. He is gradually learning the value of money and what its accumulation means. There is frequent strife between the colored non-Catholic church-goers and their ministers, trustees and other custodians or managers of their church affairs and they are often found in the courts airing their troubles and seeking adjustment of their differences.

The Catholic Church in the South has made much progress among the negroes in the last decade. To the Josephites, Holy Ghost, Divine Word and Lazarist Fathers is due great credit for the large number of converts. The Church is holding within its fold its colored adherents, for when they espouse Catholicism they do it with a full sense of the responsibilities involved and realize that the Church imposes certain requirements which unless they are ready and willing to follow, it is useless for them to attempt to embrace the Faith.

With the Catholic Church it is not a case of our colored brethren "joining" the Church for a time. The zealous priests who work among the colored people know them, are sympathetic and are working with a two-fold purpose, for the salvation of the soul and raising of the moral and economic condition of the race. The South is much indebted to Mother Katherine Drexel for her wise and generous work

for the Southern negro, along religious, educational and industrial lines.

The South commercially has not as yet attained her stride. She is rich in coal and iron. Her oil, salt and sulphur deposits are inexhaustible. Her wonderful crops of cotton and other staple agricultural products and vast pasturages make her lands always salable. She still possesses virgin forests of varied woods. Manufactures are moving southward and with the permanent solution of the Mississippi River problem and security to its valley and the completion of the Southern waterways system the South will enter upon an industrial era which will make for great and permanent prosperity.

The Catholic of the South is rendering to his Church a type of support consistent with the profound filial devotion due it. He is more militant than heretofore, for he realizes that while his Church enjoys no special privileges, asks for none and needs none, yet it is only through aggressiveness that he is enabled to prevent encroachments upon the rights of the Church and its institutions.

There are numerous lay organizations throughout the Southern States which are rendering fine assistance to their clergy and bishops. Some of these bodies are militant groups and others are created and conducted solely for the spiritual advancement of their members. Frequent communion is more common now than at any former period in the history of the Catholic Church in the Southern States.

In many localities of the South there is still a tendency to prevent the Catholic from discharging public duties and in a few an attempt to impede him in the conduct of his business or in his endeavors.

The Catholic Church being cosmopolitan in its nature, the Catholic of the South, as elsewhere, is to be found in every walk of life. He is engaged in all branches of business and is among the ranking men of the professions. In every State, city, town and hamlet he is imbued with the

spirit of his locality, and with his fellow citizens bends his energies toward the bettering of local conditions and for the advancement of his State and the community in which he lives. He will be found in all civic bodies and movements and if not in the same numbers as are others, at least in the proper ratio to the Catholic population.

Unfortunately enlightenment and fair play has not yet entirely broken through the veil of intolerance which has clouded the mind of a large number of people who live below Mason and Dixon's line. The lot of the Catholic in the rural sections of some of our Southern States is not pleasant or easy. The Catholic Church in the South is mostly urban; a large field awaits the missionary in our country districts. And while awaiting the missioner, who is as yet in comparatively small numbers, let the laymen constitute themselves into an Apostolate of the Laity, keeping always before them the memorable and inspiring words of the late Cardinal Gibbons in an address delivered by him to the Parliament of Religions in Chicago in 1893: "I am not engaged in this search for the truth, for, by the Grace of God, I am conscious that I have found it, and instead of hiding this treasure in my own breast, I long to share it with others, especially as I am none the poorer in making others the richer."

The closer contact our separated brothers have with us the better is the feeling. It is when they do not see the Catholic, his Church or his priests or nuns and only hear of them through the leaflets or papers published and circulated for the purpose of fomenting strife and distrust, that their minds are poisoned. The future of Catholicism in the South is secure. Its adherents will grow in greater proportion to the South's total increase than it has done in the past, and the continual attacks upon the Church are one of the greatest factors which are contributing to its present and future growth.

The Catholic school system is on a firm basis, its curriculum and standard is in keeping with that of the best State schools. Its hospitals are modern and their staffs skilled. Its houses of correction and asylums are sanitary, wholesome and humane. Club houses and girls' homes wherever situated are well attended. The men's, women's and children's organizations, of all kinds, are annually adding to their number and the membership of those already established is constantly increasing.

The Catholic Church in the South is a success—its traducers will come and they will go, but she will remain and fulfil her Holy Mission among men.

# THE CATHOLIC LEADERS OF THE SOUTHWEST

RIGHT REVEREND MONSIGNOR JAMES M. KIRWIN, D. D., V. G.

THE History of the Great Southwest is inseparably interwoven with the story of its Catholicism. There is no portion of American history of more vital interest, more filled with tales of discovery and romance, more replete with heroic sacrifice of priest and soldier. The flag of Spain, of France, of Mexico, Empire and Republic, of the Republic of Texas, the Star-Spangled Banner and the Star and Bars has been saluted at sunrise and retreat as the flag to which Texas gave allegiance. It has been the seat of more communistic and utopian experiments, which have been the delight of the visionary in every age of the world's progress, than all the other States of the Union combined. The story of the New Southwest cannot be told unless here and there one gives a flash of the extraordinary incidents in the march of the cowl and the carbine along the ways of colonization and civilization in Texas. There is no doubt that Cabeza de Vaca and four other refugees of the Narvaez expedition were cast upon the shores of Texas, and from de Vaca's account of their experiences we have the earliest source for conditions in the Texas interior. (Bolton, "Spanish Exploration of the Southwest.")

In 1541 Coronado in his search for Quivira, after a vain effort to find the Seven Cities of Cibola, of whose fame he had heard from the Franciscan Friar Marcos of Niza who had viewed them from a distant hilltop two years previously, reached the Grand Canon, wintered near the present site of Albuquerque and there gleaned from an Indian the story of Quivira, rich and populous city, far away in the

East. Coronado crossed the upper reaches of the Colorado River of Texas and reached the headwaters of the Nueces. He was accompanied on this expedition by Padre Francisco Juan de Padilla, who was martyred by the Wichita Indians, and Padre Juan de la Cruz, who was slain near Cibola.

Gay they rode with plume on crest and gilded spur at heel,
With gonfalon of Aragon and banner of Castile,
With high emprise and joyous youth, twin marshals of the throng,
And woke Texas' silent hills with trumpet note and song.

Then Seigneur Robert de la Salle, who had obtained permission of Louis XIV to form a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi, was blown out of his course by a storm and landed on the coast of Texas at Matagorda Bay, February 20, 1685. He established Fort Saint Louis and started out in search of the Mississippi. This was really the first expedition that set foot on Texas soil with actual colonization in view and with La Salle were Fathers Zenobius Membré, Anastase Douay, Maximus Le Clercq, John Cavelier, a brother of La Salle, and Chefdeville. The story of Fort Saint Louis is one of misfortune, famine and pestilence. La Salle was murdered near the present site of Navasota by Duhaut, one of his companions, and our only record of his death was gleaned from the lips of Father Anastase, a Sulpician who accompanied La Salle on the trip, and is recorded in Joutel's "Journal." The fleur-de-lis of France had flashed in the sunlight across the flowing streams and golden prairies of Texas and the Indian runners carried to the nearest Spanish outpost the story of the strangers. Spain, eager and anxious to protect its frontiers against French invasion, dispatched Captain Alonso de Leon and Father Damia Massanet with four other Franciscan priests and a large company of men to follow the footsteps of La Salle to the East and to answer the request of a chief of the Tejas Indians to come and Christianize the people of his tribe, and so in the woods of East Texas, near the present site of Crockett, on the feast of Corpus Christi,

1690, the Mission of San Francisco de los Tejas was dedicated. A Mass was sung and the first procession of the Most Blessed Sacrament was held within the present borders of Texas. After the procession the standard of Spain, bearing on one side the picture of the crucified Christ and on the other that of the Virgin of Guadalupe, was raised and a royal salute was fired and the Te Deum was sung. The notes of the great hymn of Saint Ambrose rang through the tall pines of the Neches woods and proclaimed that the Faith of Saint Peter's on the Tiber was the Faith of Saint Francis' on the Neches. The foundation, like that of the French, was short in time and abundant in misfortunes. The mission was abandoned in October, 1693, but the Tejas Indians had left the memory of their virtues and the comparative ease of their conversion in the minds of the gentle Franciscans and they were eager to penetrate into Texas. In 1716 the Venerable Antonio Margil, whose virtues were declared heroic by Pope Gregory XVI in 1836, perhaps the most remarkable missionary that set foot on this Western continent, established anew the missions in East Texas. There is a legend in Texas that the Venerable Antonio Margil de Jesus was miraculously transported across the river, which we know as the Brazos but which was then called Espiritu Santo. The name was changed to Brazos de Dios (The Arms of God) and the first portion of its new entitlement clings to the river whilst the memory of Margil has faded from the pages of Texas history. Accompanying Margil to East Texas was Father Isidore Felis de Espinosa, who founded near Nacogdoches the Mission of La Purissima Concepcion in 1716, and when the East Texas missions were abandoned because of the advance of the French, Concepcion was moved to the neighborhood of San Antonio. There is a pious tradition among the old Indians that when its foundations were laid the padre, to carry the idea of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, for which dogma the Franciscans were always pro-

tagonists and for whom Murillo painted the famous Louvre picture (1678), asked his Indian neophytes to bring milk to mix the mortar.

There were many other mission foundations in Texas between 1716 and 1824, when the missions were suppressed by the Spanish government. There is not a vestige left of the missions near Nacogdoches nor of the colonies along the Trinity. Only the Acequia or "Big Ditch," as the Texans call it, preserves the memories along the San Gabriel, but the foundations made in the neighborhood of San Antonio still survive. The Alamo, famous in Texas history, was established in 1722 as a portion of the once extensive mission of San Antonio de Valero. It was in this church that its heroic defenders, March 6, 1836, made their desperate stand for the liberty of Texas.

"Thermopylæ had its messenger of defeat, the Alamo had none."

When Mexico had declared and obtained its independence, the State of Coahuila and Texas was established as one of its component departments. Invitations were extended to Americans to settle in the new republic and every concession possible was accorded to impresarios who might lead colonists into the territory. These hardy pioneers were subjected to but one condition, they must profess the Catholic Faith. Bishop Odin in the "Annals of the Congregation of the Mission" (Vol. VIII, pages 181-211) tells us that

> Many American Protestants on arriving in this country had themselves baptized in order to secure the concession of land, but it was not agreed that they must follow the Catholic Faith. This manner of acting was not the result of conviction; it was only to conform to the law and the greater part received Baptism without knowing Catholic doctrine, so I would not dare to include them in the number of our Catholics.

Several Irish priests accompanied bands of American colonists into the State of Coahuila and Texas and the

memory of Father Muldoon vividly survives. He was the devoted friend of Stephen F. Austin and comforted him while in prison in the City of Mexico. He very probably baptized Austin and General Sam Houston. There were many "Muldoon Catholics." Like Maverick, they took their name from Padre Miguel Muldoon, who had no qualms of conscience in either baptizing them or giving them baptismal certificates when he had not conferred the Sacrament. He seems to have viewed the civil requirement of baptism as uncalled for and when there was a question of procuring the possessions of his friends, when a mere technicality would void their title, he furnished a certificate.

The story of Texas independence is a glorious one. The battle of San Jacinto changed the tongue, if not the civilization, of a continent. If the proud spirit of the Texas colonists had been broken by defeat, Spanish would now be the tongue of the great territory west of the Mississippi. General Sidney Sherman, a pious and devout Catholic, who commanded the left wing of the Texan army, was the first to strike the enemy, shouting at the critical instant the talismanic battle-cry "Remember Goliad and the Alamo," which was prolonged in fierce enthusiasm from left to right by the advancing line of the Texan victorious army. Doctor N. D. Labadie, who was the trusted friend and adviser of Father Timon and Bishop Odin, and the financial agent of the first frame Catholic church constructed on Galveston Island, acted as interpreter for the surrender of Santa Anna and was the surgeon in charge of the medicine chest. General Sam Houston was always favorably disposed to the Catholic Church and is traditionally credited with having been baptized by Father Muldoon. The deposit of faith was not lost, for two of his grandchildren are devout members of the Catholic Church.

Mirabeau B. Lamar, the first President of the Republic of Texas, notified the Holy See that there was a great

number of Catholics dwelling in Texas and that no priest was to be found ministering to them. The last Franciscan had departed from East Texas. The people of Nacogdoches were meeting under the guidance of an old beadle for the recitation of prayers and the teaching of catechism. Texas had severed the civil bond of Mexico and had been recognized as an independent republic. In a letter written by Cardinal Fransoni, Prefect of the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, January 16, 1838, we find the phrase *"Ipsumque Provincæ Presidem Catholicæ Religioni se in primis benevolum demonstrare;"* (that the President of the Republic himself shows first of all his favor to the Catholic Religion), and when Father John Timon visited Austin in 1840 as Vicar Apostolic of Texas he carried a letter from Cardinal Fransoni to President Mirabeau B. Lamar which was accepted as the recognition by the Pope of the independence of Texas. We know from Father Timon's letter ("Annals of the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith," Vol. XII) how favorably Father Timon was received in Houston, then the capital of the republic. He preached in the capitol in the presence of the President and the representatives of the republic. Vice-President Burnett received him into his home and General Houston argued religion with him and very readily received instruction.

In the organization of the Texas Revolutionary Government of 1836, the loyalty, patriotism and talents of Lorenzo de Zavala were deemed of such high order as to qualify him for the office of Vice-President of the Republic. Colonel Francisco Ruiz, another distinguished Catholic and patriot, was active in achieving the independence of Mexico and, an exile in Texas, he gave his aid to the obtaining of Texas freedom and independence. He was one of the signers of the Texas Declaration of Independence, as was also General Jose Antonio Navarro, afterwards a member of the Congress of the Republic of Texas and a senator of

the first Texas State Legislature. Michel B. Menard, founder of Galveston, James Power, representing the Power colony, and William D. Lacy were members of the Catholic Church. When Texas was annexed to the United States its territory embraced besides its present area, what now forms part of New Mexico, of Oklahoma, of Colorado and even of Wyoming. The portion outside its present borders was sold to this country for $10,000,000.00.

From the day that Texas entered the Union her sons and daughters have contributed valiantly and generously to the upbuilding of the Church and State. They answered heroically to the call to arms in the Mexican war and while none of our Catholics shone brilliantly in the performance of plain duty, they sacrificed themselves and their property to the call of country.

When Civil War devastated the land, their response to the Stars and Bars was equally generous. Father Ryan, poet-priest, sang the songs of the Confederacy. Dick Dowling and his company of forty-two Irishmen at Fort Griffin, Sabine Pass, 1863, fought a battle of which Jefferson Davis in "The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government" says "The success of the single company which garrisoned the earthwork at Fort Griffin is without parallel in ancient or modern war." "Old Tige," Brigadier General William Lewis Cabell, was a Catholic soldier, and the memory of Major-General Patrick Ronayne Cleburne will survive. He distinguished himself at Murfreesboro, Chickamauga and Missionary Ridge, receiving the thanks of the Confederate Congress and was killed at Franklin. The morning of the battle, meeting one of his private soldiers who was barefooted, General Cleburne pulled off his boots and gave them to him and within five minutes the general went to meet his God. He had just reported to General Hood "I have more hope in the final success of our cause than at any time since the first gun was fired." In camp and field, in ship and fort, the children of Holy Mother

BISHOP DU BOURG
*Founder of St. Louis University*

Church gave heroically and generously and when the banner of the Lost Cause was furled they set themselves patiently to work to help restore the prosperity of the past.

In Arkansas John M. Gracie, of the Cathedral parish at Little Rock, is known as the largest cotton planter in the world. T. J. Gaughan, of Camden, Arkansas, is a leading corporation lawyer of the State. Dwyer and Ahern are the chief business men of Texarkana. John B. Combes, the late illustrious church architect, was reared at Marilton, Arkansas. Richard Kerens, late Ambassador to Austria, made his fortune and fame in Arkansas.

In Oklahoma Dennis T. Flynn, former delegate to Congress, Judge M. J. Kane of the Supreme Court, Judge Thomas H. Doyle of the Court of Appeals, are Catholics. Colonel Markham and Thomas White have made reputations for themselves in the development of the oil territory and John J. McGraw is a banker of outstanding reputation.

In the growth of Texas commercially no one has contributed more in recent years than J. S. Cullinan, of Houston. T. J. Donoghue of the Texas Company, Thomas White and John Standford of the Sinclair Oils have been notable figures in the development of Texas's liquid wealth. Baylis E. Harriss, president of the Galveston Cotton Exchange and a prominent factor in the cotton world; John P. McDonough, who developed and built the Galveston Drydock, and John Kane of the Kane Boiler Works, are prominent in industrial and business lines. In the San Antonio territory the name of Tuohig and Sullivan in the banking world; Davis and Dwyer and Buckley and Boyle in law; of Hart and Drought shine forth resplendently in the marts of trade.

In the Great Southwest William Henry Crain, of Dewitt County, was a brilliant member of Congress. Robert Dougherty and James McGloin, of San Patricio, were famous ranchmen. Daniel Milmo, of Laredo, was a prominent banker and Doctor Arthur E. Spohn, of Corpus

Christi, left the impress of his learning and generosity. John Conway, of Hidalgo, David Odem, of San Patricio, John Kennedy, of Kennedy County, James B. Wells, the Nestor of democracy in the Southwest, John Classner, of Hidalgo County, and A. Albert Brown, of Brownsville, are recognized leaders in the commercial, professional and industrial life of the Great Southwest.

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# CATHOLICS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NORTHWEST

JOHN P. O'HARA

THE outstanding figure in the early history of the Pacific Northwest was that of Doctor John McLoughlin, "the Father of Oregon," chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Oregon Country from 1824 to 1846. The United States had claims to the Oregon Country based on Gray's discovery of the Columbia River (1792) on the Lewis and Clark Expedition (1805-6), and on John Jacob Astor's fur venture at Astoria (1811-14). The British likewise laid claim to the country which then included the territory from California to Alaska and lying west of the Rocky Mountains. Unable to come to an agreement over the boundary of Oregon at the time when the Northern boundary of the Louisiana purchase was determined in 1818, the rival claimants agreed upon the "joint occupancy" of the Oregon Country, an arrangement which continued until the tide of American immigration showed the British the futility of trying to maintain their extreme claims and led them in 1846 to propose the present boundary. During the greater part of McLoughlin's administration, however, Americans were few in the Oregon Country, and his position at the head of the Hudson's Bay Company in that region made him the autocrat of the Pacific Northwest, a position which he filled in a rare spirit of justice and benevolence.

McLoughlin was born, October 19, 1784, in the parish of La Riviere du Loup, Canada, and was baptized on November 3, in the same year. Both of his parents were Catholic; his father of Irish, his mother of Scotch descent. The boy was reared, however, in the home of his maternal grandfather and was brought up in the Established Church

of England. It was only after his arrival in Oregon that he returned to the Faith of his parents. He was educated for the medical profession in Canada, in Scotland and probably in France, and as a young man became associated with the Northwest Company and rose to prominence in its service, being placed in charge of its chief depot at Fort William on Lake Superior. Here he married the widow of Alexander McKay, a former partner of John Jacob Astor in the Pacific Fur Company, which founded Astoria. In 1821 the Northwest Company and the Hudson's Bay Company were combined, the combination retaining the title of the latter concern. McLoughlin was named chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Oregon Country, and travelled overland to Astoria in 1824 to assume his new duties. He soon recognized that the confluence of the Willamette and Columbia rivers was the most advantageous site for the chief trading post of his company in the Northwest and accordingly (1825) founded Fort Vancouver on the present site of Vancouver, Washington, across the Columbia River from the present city of Portland, Oregon, the metropolis of the Columbia River basin. The present United States military post, known as Vancouver Barracks, occupies the site of McLoughlin's second fort, built in 1829.

A man of superb physical proportions, over six feet four inches in height, he likewise possessed the mental endowments of a man born to command. In the midst of a population of 100,000 Indians and a group of whites at the various posts, removed from the ordinary restraints of civilization, he had need of the gifts which nature had bestowed upon him. In his later years, after his retirement from office, he was able to write of his relations to the Indians:

> When the Hudson's Bay Company first began to trade with these Indians they were so hostile to the whites that they had to mount guard day and night at the establishment, have sentinels at the gates to prevent any Indians entering unless to trade, and when they entered to take their arms

> from them. The Columbia could not be traveled in parties of less than sixty men, but by the management of the company they were brought to that friendly disposition that two men for several years back can travel in safety between this (Oregon City) and Fort Hall.

There were no Indian wars during his administration. Shortly after assuming his office McLoughlin put a stop to the sale of intoxicants to the Indians, on one occasion buying up the entire supply of liquor brought into the river by a trading vessel.

As the chief representative of a great trading corporation it was McLoughlin's duty to develop the fur trade of the Northwest and to make of Fort Vancouver the clearing house of the company's business west of the Rocky Mountains. Here were the warehouses into which came the peltries gathered from twenty or more forts and camps placed at convenient points in a vast region of half a million square miles. Here also came annually from the company's London wharves, ships laden with supplies for the whites, and merchandise for which the Indians were glad to barter the furs which a year's hunting had yielded. Some notion of the business done at Fort Vancouver may be gleaned from the statement of Jedediah Smith, an American trader who visited McLoughlin in 1828, that thirty thousand beaver skins worth $250,000, had been received during the year, besides other furs in quantities.

Though the development of the fur trade was the primary motive of the company, agriculture, livestock raising, lumbering, and manufacturing were by-products of its activities. The rich soil surrounding the fort was sown to the usual grain crops, and an early traveler tells of finding several thousand acres "fenced into beautiful corn fields, vegetable fields, orchards, gardens, and pasture fields, * * * interspersed with dairy houses, shepherds' and herdsmen's cottages." By 1828 all the wheat needed for the establishment was grown locally. When McLoughlin arrived in the Oregon Country the company possessed

a few head of cattle and other live stock; by preventing slaughter for a number of years and by purchases of California cattle he founded the livestock industry of the Northwest and was able to lend cows and work cattle to the early settlers.

Out of McLoughlin's promotion of agriculture came the foundation of the first agricultural community in the present State of Oregon. Etienne Lucier, a former servant of the Hudson's Bay Company, in 1830 receiving assistance in seed and food supplies and cattle, established himself in the Willamette Valley. The next year he was followed by Louis Labonté and Joseph Gervais, both formerly of the Astor expedition. In the next ten years about fifty families of Canadian origin were living on French Prairie, which remains one of the most prosperous farming communities in the West, and is still largely Catholic. American settlers as well as Canadian were supplied with seed grain and other supplies until their own harvests were gleaned.

A flour mill was set up by McLoughlin where the settlers could have their wheat ground and the export of flour to the Russian communities in Alaska became a business of considerable size. These years saw also the beginnings of the salmon packing industry, salmon taken in the Columbia being salted for export as well as for domestic use. A saw mill was established at Vancouver and the building of river boats and of a few coasting vessels undertaken. The presence of such a centre of industrial and commercial activity was of immense value to American settlement of the Northwest when in the forties of the nineteenth century thousands of pioneers undertook the long overland march into the Oregon Country. Without Fort Vancouver and the kindly welcome offered to the newcomers by Doctor McLoughlin, the American occupation of the country must have been greatly delayed.

Before the American colonization of Oregon took place

there was a very considerable missionary movement, both Catholic and Protestant, directed toward the Oregon Country; this movement came in the first place in response to the call of the Canadian settlers and of Indians who had been made acquainted with the religion of the "Black Robes." Before the middle of the eighteenth century the French had pushed far into what is now known as the Canadian Northwest. The sons of La Verendrye, in a famous exploring expedition, came into the Dakotas and Montana from Canada as early as 1742. It is thought that they were accompanied by Father C. G. Coquart, S. J., but, in any case, the Catholic religion became known to the Rocky Mountain Indians soon after the formation of the Northwest Company in 1783. The story of the Shoshone woman, the Catholic Sacajawea, who accompanied the Lewis and Clark expedition as a guide, is well known. In the second decade of the nineteenth century a band of twenty-four Iroquois from the Saint Lawrence Valley crossed the plains and reached the Flathead Valley in the northwestern part of the present State of Montana, where they associated themselves with the Selish or Flathead tribe. Their leader was Ignace La Mousse, also known as Old Ignace, who, being a fervent Catholic, taught his new friends what he could of the Catholic religion, and so stirred their interest that they and their neighbors, the Nez Perces, sent (1831) a deputation to St. Louis to ask for priests. Unfortunately the Catholic authorities in that city were unable to respond to the request. A report of the deputation's arrival and its extraordinary errand was, however, widely published in the Protestant press, and as a result a Methodist mission under the leadership of Jason Lee, reached Oregon in 1834, and two years later Doctor Marcus Whitman and his associates of the American Board Missions arrived at Vancouver.

Disappointed but not discouraged the Indians sent a second, and finally (1839) a third mission to St. Louis. A

son of Old Ignace was a member of the third mission which on its way down the Missouri stopped at Council Bluffs, where Young Ignace and his companions met Father Peter John De Smet, S. J., who has left this record of the meeting:

> On the 18th of last September two Catholic Iroquois came to visit us. They had been for twenty-three years among the nations called the Flatheads and the Pierced Noses, about a thousand Flemish leagues from where we are. I have never seen any savages so fervent in religion. By their instructions and example they have given all that nation a great desire to have themselves baptized. All that tribe strictly observe Sunday and assemble several times a week to pray and sing canticles. The sole object of these good Iroquois was to obtain a priest to come and finish what they had happily commenced. We gave them letters of recommendation for our Reverend Father Superior at St. Louis.

Out of this historic meeting came De Smet's offer to devote himself to the missions among the Rocky Mountain Indians, an offer gratefully accepted by Bishop Rosati, of St. Louis, and destined to be crowned with one of the most remarkable missionary successes in the annals of America.

While the Rocky Mountain Indians were seeking the ministrations of the "Black Robes" by way of St. Louis, the Canadian settlers in the Willamette Valley had successfully appealed to Canada for priests. As early as 1834 they sent a petition to the Canadian ecclesiastical authorities for missionaries. This petition and a similar one the following year were forwarded through Doctor McLoughlin. Upon receiving assurances that priests would be sent the settlers in 1836 built a log church, thirty by seventy feet, the first in the Oregon Country.

On April 17, 1838, the Bishop of Quebec appointed the Reverend Francis Norbert Blanchet his Vicar-General with jurisdiction over the territory "which is comprised between the Rocky Mountains on the east, the Pacific Ocean on the west, the Russian possessions on the north, and the territory of the United States on the south," and directed him

to proceed to his new field of labor. Leaving Quebec, the Vicar-General set out for Fort Vancouver, the chief seat in his jurisdiction of the Hudson's Bay Company. He stopped a month with Bishop Provencher at Red River (now St. Boniface, Manitoba), where he met the Reverend Modeste Demers, a young priest who had been appointed his assistant on the Oregon missions. The two pioneer priests left the Red River in July and on the tenth of October reached the summit of the Rocky Mountains between Mounts Brown and Hooker in Alberta. That morning at three o'clock Father Blanchet celebrated Mass and consecrated, as he says, "to their Creator these mountains and abrupt peaks whose prodigious heights ascend toward Heaven to celebrate the praise of the Almighty." The following Sunday the company in which they traveled reached Big Bend on the banks of the Columbia and here Mass was offered for the first time in the Oregon Country, Father Demers being celebrant.

On the journey down the Columbia they stopped at Forts Colville, Okanogan and Walla Walla. At the last-named post they made the acquaintance of Pierre Pambrun, the commandant of the fort, a Catholic gentleman who had taken pains to inculcate the principles of the Christian religion among the Walla Walla and Cayuse Indians of the vicinity. Pambrun's success in raising the moral tone of the Indian community is interestingly described in Washington Irving's "Adventures of Captain Bonneville."

The missionaries arrived at Fort Vancouver, Saturday, November 24, 1838, where they were waited on by Joseph Gervais, Etienne Lucier, and Pierre Beleque, representing the Canadians of the Willamette Valley. The following day being Sunday, the Vicar-General celebrated High Mass. Many of the Canadians present had been absent from the services of the Church for ten or even twenty years, and their joy was great at the coming of the fathers among them. The employees of the Hudson's Bay Company at

the twenty-eight forts were largely Catholic and there were two Catholic settlements, that of the Willamette Valley, already mentioned, and that on the Cowlitz river, fifty miles down the Columbia. This was the foundation on which was to be built the Church in the Northwest.

In the middle of December, Father Blanchet visited the Cowlitz settlement, where he celebrated Mass in the house of Simon Plamondon. Here he appointed one of the settlers, named Fagnant, to teach the women and children the prayers and catechism. In the following spring, from Passion Sunday to Easter, he preached a mission at the Cowlitz for the settlers and many Indians who had assembled from far and near upon hearing of the coming of the "Black Robes." It is at this mission the "Catholic Ladder" is first heard of. The Vicar-General wished in the brief time at his command so to instruct the Indians that they might carry back with them to their tribes the essential teachings of religion. In his "Historical Sketches" he explains his method thus:

> In looking for a plan, the Vicar-General imagined that by representing on a square stick the forty centuries before Christ by forty marks; the thirty-three years of Our Lord by thirty-three points followed by a cross; and the eighteen centuries and thirty-nine years since, by eighteen marks and thirty-nine points, his design would be pretty well answered, giving him a chance to show the beginning of the world, the creation, the fall of the angels, of Adam, the promise of a Savior, the time of His birth and of His death upon the Cross, as well as the mission of the Apostles. The plan was a great success. After eight days of explanation the chief and his companions became masters of the subject * * * and started for home well satisfied with a square rule thus marked.

Somewhat later he arranged a chart in accordance with the same plan, which he elaborated from time to time until in 1859 he had it copyrighted. In its final form it was two-an-a-half feet in width and five feet in length and was a pictorial compendium of Biblical and Church history. The chart was very generally used by the missionaries, and the Indians took great pride in the possession of a copy.

In imitation of the Vicar-General's chart, a "Protestant Ladder" was compiled by Protestant missionaries, who, in their anti-Catholic zeal, distorted the teachings of history and Scripture. The Catholic Ladder was excellently adapted for the work the Catholic missionaries had in hand and its use contributed in no small measure to the success they met with in evangelizing the Indians.

A mission given at this time by Father Demers at Fort Nesqually, on Puget Sound, is noteworthy as witnessing the conversion of Mrs. Kitson, wife of the commandant of the Fort; she was followed into the Church a year later by her husband.

Father De Smet, whose offer to undertake missionary work among the Rocky Mountain Indians has been referred to, set out in March, 1840, for the Oregon Country. With great energy he traversed the Rocky Mountain region, preaching to the Indians and instructing catechists who could carry on his work during his absence. In the Bitter Root Valley, the home of the Flatheads, he established a permanent mission, the first within the present State of Montana. Having received coadjutors in the persons of Fathers Nicholas Point and Gregory Mengarini, and three Brothers of the Society, Father De Smet felt free to undertake the thousand-mile journey to Fort Vancouver to confer with Father Blanchet. He set out in April, 1842, and on his way he preached to whole villages of the Kootenais, Kalispels, Cœur d'Alenes, Spokanes, and Okanogans. In accordance with his custom, he established the practice of morning and evening prayer in common in nearly every village he visited. In one of his letters he describes his reception at a village of the Cœur d'Alenes. The whole camp turned out to meet him.

> I spoke to them, he writes, on salvation and the end of man's creation, and not one person stirred from his place during the whole time of instruction. As it was almost sunset, I recited the prayers I had translated into their language a few days before. At their own request I then

> continued instructing the chiefs and their people until the night was far advanced. About every half-hour I paused, and then the pipes would pass round to refresh the listeners and give time for reflection.

Father De Smet was warmly welcomed by Fathers Blanchet and Demers at Fort Vancouver, where the three pioneer priests conferred on the interests of the Coast missions. It was decided that De Smet should start for St. Louis and Belgium to secure workers and means for the missions of Oregon. This determination was heartily encouraged by Doctor McLoughlin, who was anxious to see the number of Catholic missionaries increased. On June 30, 1842, De Smet set out on his journey for reënforcements, to be gone two years.

In December, 1842, Doctor McLoughlin platted the townsite of Oregon City, which was to give its name to the future archiepiscopal see. Father Blanchet bought a lot in the town and proposed that Father Langlois should build a chapel for the Indians. The rapid coming of white settlers, however, drove out his Indian congregation. It was three years later before the building project at Oregon City was resumed, and then it was to erect the first cathedral in the Oregon Province.

Through the generosity of Joseph Larocque, a wealthy Frenchman, who had been financially interested in the old Northwest Company and after 1821 held the post of chief trader in the Hudson's Bay Company, Father Blanchet was enabled to open a college for boys at St. Paul. Larocque gave 4800 francs for the school and work was begun in 1842. October 17, 1843, the institution was solemnly blessed under the name of Saint Joseph's College, in honor of its founder. Father Langlois was appointed director and on the first day welcomed thirty boys as boarders.

The early forties saw a numerous American immigration to the Oregon Country, so numerous, indeed, that it became evident that a civil government on the American pattern would supersede the régime of the Hudson's Bay

Company. On the setting up of the provisional government in 1843, the company and its friends among the Canadians stood aloof, but the following year withdrew their opposition and Americans and Canadians joined in the reorganization. Among the Americans were two Catholics, Hugh Burns and James O'Neill, who took an active part in promoting the formation of the new government.

In the following year the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, who came from Belgium at Father De Smet's invitation, opened a school for girls, enrolling about two score of the children of the Canadian farmers in their pioneer educational institution. The quarterly tuition charges were paid in flour, meat, potatoes, eggs, salt, candles, tea, and rice. In spite of crude beginnings the school prospered for a time and the Sisters, having received reinforcements, opened a second one at Oregon City in the fall of 1848. The prosperity of these schools was not long to continue; the discovery of gold in California, in 1848, attracted many of the families from French Prairie in the Summer of that year, and when the college of Saint Joseph closed in June, 1848, it closed permanently. A few years later the Sisters gave up their schools.

The work of religious education was renewed in 1859 with the arrival from Montreal of the Sisters of the Holy Names who in that year founded Saint Mary's Academy, now Saint Mary's College, in the city of Portland.

In 1843 the Oregon missions were erected into a Vicariate Apostolic with Father Blanchet as Vicar. Nearly a year elapsed before the news reached Oregon; Father Blanchet set out in December, 1844, to receive episcopal consecration. He sailed by way of Honolulu, Deal (England), Liverpool, and Boston, whence he went to Montreal, after six months of travel, where he was consecrated by Bishop Bourget, July 25, 1845. From Montreal he went to Europe to secure recruits for his missions, and funds

for church-building and other purposes. Upon his presentation at Rome of the needs of his missions and their vast extent, his vicariate was made an ecclesiastical province with the three sees of Oregon City, Walla Walla, and Vancouver Island. He was named Archbishop of Oregon City; his brother, Reverend A. M. A. Blanchet, was named for the See of Walla Walla, and Father Demers for Vancouver Island.

Before leaving Europe the new archbishop was successful in gaining both recruits and funds for his distant missions. Among notable gifts there came one of eighteen thousand francs through the good offices of King Louis Philippe, of France. February 22, 1847, Archbishop Blanchet set sail from Brest accompanied by twenty-one persons; namely, seven Sisters of Notre Dame, three Jesuit Fathers, and three Brothers of the Society, five secular priests, two deacons, and an ecclesiastical student. Upon his arrival in Oregon he found that a new church had been built at St. Paul, the first brick edifice in the Oregon Country; and that a frame church, which was to be his first cathedral, had been built at Oregon City.

Coincident with the arrival of the Archbishop at Oregon City, his brother, Bishop Blanchet, traveling overland from St. Louis, arrived at Fort Walla Walla, accompanied by four Oblate Fathers, two secular priests, and a deacon. His party was welcomed by McBean, commandant at the fort, who, like his predecessor, Pambrun, was a Catholic. The hopes entertained for the new diocese of Walla Walla were soon blasted by the massacre of Doctor Whitman and his associates at the neighboring Protestant mission, and the Indian troubles which followed thereupon. Bishop Blanchet was compelled to seek refuge with his brother, and after a brief period took up his residence at Vancouver, where he and his successors resided until Seattle became the episcopal residence.

Father De Vos, S. J., who had charge of the parish at

Oregon City during the absence of the Archbishop, had the happiness of receiving into the Church a number of converts from the Protestant community. Among them were Doctor J. E. Long, secretary of the Provisional Government of Oregon, and several members of his family. One of the chief founders of Oregon, Judge Peter H. Burnett, was received by Father De Vos in June, 1846. Burnett, a native of Tennessee, was one of the organizers of what is known as "The First Great Migration," that of 1843, and helped to direct its progress across the plains. He was a member of the Provisional Government's Legislature and took a prominent part in the formation of the territorial régime. In his book, published in 1860, "The Path Which Led a Protestant Lawyer to the Catholic Church," he explains that shortly after his arrival in Oregon he attended High Mass as a mere spectator on Christmas, at midnight.

> I had never witnessed anything like it before, and the profound solemnity of the services, the intense, yet calm fervor of the worshippers—the great and marked differences between the two forms of worship—and the instantaneous reflection that this was the Church claiming to be the only true Church did make the profoundest impression upon my mind for the moment. In all my religious experience, I had never felt an impulse so profound, so touching. * * * I gazed into the faces of the worshippers, and they appeared as if they were actually looking at the Lord Jesus, and were hushed into perfect stillness in His awful presence.

Some months later the famous Campbell-Purcell debate fell into his hands, and a reading of this book caused him to examine "carefully, prayerfully, and earnestly" the claims of the Church. After his conversion Burnett left Oregon for California, where he took a leading part in the organization of the American Government and was elected first American Governor of that State.

A later convert was General Joseph Lane, who had served with distinction in the Mexican War, in which he was brevetted major-general, and became first Territorial Governor of Oregon, in 1849. He represented that Territory in Congress as a delegate and was chosen one of the

first United States senators from Oregon when the State was admitted to the Union. He was honored with the nomination for Vice-President on the Breckinridge ticket in 1860. His services to the people of Oregon in the Indian wars of the 'fifties were of great value. His son, LaFayette Lane, also a convert to the Church, represented Oregon in the Forty-fourth Congress. The Right Reverend Arthur Lane, pastor of Albany, Oregon, and the first native Oregonian to enter the priesthood, is a son of LaFayette Lane.

The Indian wars of the 'fifties which made it necessary greatly to augment the military forces of the United States in the Northwest brought many Catholics into the country. Thus we find that the Catholic soldiers of the Second United States Artillery, stationed at Fort Stevens at the mouth of the Columbia, in 1867 undertook the establishment of a mission at Astoria, and in the following year purchased the necessary ground for a church, thirty-six Catholic soldiers contributing to the fund. A typical case is that of William Kohlhauff, a native of Rhenish Bavaria, who after seeing frontier service in Minnesota volunteered (1855) for service on the Pacific Coast with the Ninth United States Infantry. With his bride, Johanna Saling, he traveled to Oregon by way of Panama, arriving at Fort Vancouver in January, 1856. After participating in several Indian campaigns he was mustered out in 1859 and moved with his family to what is now the city of Walla Walla, where he built the first house from boards, and having glazed windows. He became one of the pioneer merchants of Eastern Washington.

Colonel Elmer Otis of the First Cavalry, at Fort Walla Walla, was a convert. James Monaghan, who went into Eastern Washington with the army, later established the first ferry a few miles below the present site of Spokane. In the course of time he became a leading banker of the city, and a generous benefactor of Gonzaga University, conducted by the Jesuit Fathers.

When, in the 'sixties of the nineteenth century, the first transcontinental railroad began to assume form, the desirability of connecting Oregon with California by rail became apparent. The beginning of this great enterprise was the work of Ben Holladay, who, in 1868, broke ground at Portland, Oregon, for the Oregon and California Railroad, now a subsidiary of the Southern Pacific system. Holladay, in the days preceding the Union Pacific Railroad, had become the principal owner of the Overland Stage Line which connected the Missouri frontier with Salt Lake City and the West. With prophetic vision he saw the development of the Coast States and in 1860 extended his operations to include coastwise shipping on the Pacific. When he entered the railroad field in Oregon he was already the dominant figure in shipping affairs from Alaska to the Isthmus of Panama. His income from transportation business reached at this time $100,000 a month. In later years much of his vast fortune was dissipated in litigation over his railroad and other holdings. When he died in 1887 his funeral from the Cathedral, Portland, brought together the leaders of civic and business life who recognized in him one of the great builders of the Commonwealth.

Among the other railroad pioneers of the Northwest are John T. Heffernan, civil engineer and railroad builder, and founder of the engine works in Seattle which bear his name; J. C. Ford, president of the Columbia and Puget Sound Railroad company, president of the Pacific Coast Steamship and Coal company; J. D. Farrell, president of the Oregon Washington Railroad & Navigation company (coast outlet of the Union Pacific system) with headquarters in Seattle, and James P. O'Brien, vice-president and general manager of the Oregon Washington Railroad & Navigation company, in Portland.

Associated with the growth of Seattle have been R. S. Nordhoff and Frank McDermott, leaders in the department

store field; Daniel Kelleher, lawyer and banker; George Albers, who with his brothers, the late Bernard Albers and William Albers of Portland, founded one of the leading milling businesses in the West.

The development of gold and silver mining in Idaho and Montana brought large numbers of immigrants into the Northwest, as did copper mining in the same region in more recent days. Among Catholics in this immigration several stand out in special prominence. Major Martin Maginnis, who led a company of 150 men with forty wagons, into Last Chance Gulch (Helena) in 1866, had seen service throughout the Civil War, having resigned his place as editor of a St. Paul, Minnesota, newspaper in order to join the First Minnesota Volunteer Infantry as a private. He was mustered out in 1865 with the rank of major, though only twenty-four years of age. After a brief experience as a miner in Helena he became the publisher of the Helena *Daily Gazette* and was chosen Territorial Delegate to Congress, serving twelve years. He was instrumental in securing Federal aid in the railroad development of Montana and in providing land grants for the State University. As a member of the Constitutional Convention of Montana he took an active part in organizing the State government. Maginnis was a charming orator and his services in this field were always in demand. He was greatly interested in pioneer history, and it is said of him that his occasional addresses if collected would make a compendious history of the State with whose life he was associated for fifty-two years.

Thomas C. Power, trained as a civil engineer, settled at Fort Benton, Montana, in 1867, and interested himself in developing steamship transportation on the Missouri and became president of the Benton P. line of steamers. Before the coming of the railroads he organized a number of stage lines. As a merchant he brought the first reapers and mowers to Montana. His large interests included

cattle raising and mining. He was a member of the first Constitutional Convention of Montana and represented the State in the United States Senate from 1890 to 1895.

D. J. Hennessy, one of the great merchants of Butte, was born in New Brunswick, in 1854, going to Montana in 1879. He organized the Hennessy Mercantile Company, and was a leader in the business life of that State until his death in 1908.

Thomas H. Carter, a native of Ohio, who followed farming, railroading, and school teaching in his youth, was long associated with the public life of Montana, and the nation. He served both as Territorial Delegate and Member of Congress from Montana in the Fifty-first Congress; he was Commissioner of the General Land Office from 1891 to 1892, when he became chairman of the Republican National Committee. He represented Montana in the United States Senate from 1895 to 1901 and then became United States Commissioner for the St. Louis Exposition.

Marcus Daly, a native of Ireland (1842), arrived in Montana in 1876. As a young man he became a practical miner and assayer. His unerring judgment of mines and mineral lands permitted him to assume a commanding position in the community and led to his development of the great Anaconda property. Aside from his mining interests Daly promoted the farming and stock raising industries of the State, his great ranch in the Bitter Root Valley becoming especially famous. He was followed in the management of the Anaconda by William Scallon, who in turn has been succeeded by John D. Ryan.

Though a later comer, Thomas J. Walsh has been a leader in the State's civil life, and now represents Montana in the United States Senate.

Boise, Idaho, from which the Idaho diocese takes its name, was first a military post and secondly a centre of the gold mining industry. Here in the early Summer of 1863, in the home of John A. O'Farrell, two missionaries, Fathers

Mesplie and Poulin, on their way to minister to the mining communities, celebrated Mass. Soon a modest frame church was erected on a tract given by the O'Farrells; now the site of Saint Alphonsus Hospital. Idaho was not finally set up as a separate ecclesiastical jurisdiction until 1885, when the Right Reverend A. J. Glorieux was consecrated as Vicar-Apostolic. Four years later a constitutional convention formulated the organic law of the State. Four Catholics sat in the convention: Hagan of Kootenai; Hogan of Lemhi; McMahon of Alturas, and Sinnott of Elmore County. In the first Legislature which met the following year Captain James Gunn and Martin King were prominent among the Catholic members. A few years later Captain Gunn was elected to the National House of Representatives and Henry Heitfeld of Lewiston, a leader in the business life of the State, was chosen United States Senator in spite of the efforts of the A. P. A. to defeat him on account of his religion.

The State of Oregon is now represented in the House of Representatives by Nicholas J. Sinnott of The Dalles, chairman of the Public Lands committee of the House. John M. Gearin, of Portland, who, like Mr. Sinnott, is a graduate of the University of Notre Dame, represented Oregon in the United States Senate in the early years of the present century.

An important phase of Northwestern development is connected with the growth of Catholic colonies. A word about two of these must suffice. In the 'seventies of the last century Father Verboort led a group of Dutch families from Wisconsin to Washington County, Oregon, where around the village which was given his name there has grown up a community which has not only prospered itself, but by its industry and knowledge of farming, particularly dairying, has made its county one of the richest in the country. Five parishes are now made up for the most part of the descendants of the Verboort colony. A similar

development has taken place in the Mount Angel (Oregon) community, which surrounds the monastery of Saint Benedict established in the early 'eighties of the nineteenth century by Father Adelhelm Odermatt, O. S. B., who brought out from Switzerland the Benedictine Fathers and the Benedictine Sisters. The great stone abbey surmounting "the hill of the angels" has been as a beacon attracting the sons and daughters of Germany and Switzerland who now constitute a community which by its industry, thrift and the cultivation of the domestic virtues, offers an example to the whole State.

In any estimate of the contribution of Catholics to the development of the Northwest account should be taken of the immense work performed by the religious orders in building schools, hospitals, orphanages, and in performing other social services. Merely as a contribution to the material upbuilding of the country, the religious institutions are an outstanding element in the chief cities and towns. Their silent, day to day work in ministering to the young, to the sick, and unfortunate, cannot be estimated, both on account of the nature of the services rendered and the fact that these institutions are great coöperative enterprises in which the religious motive teaches the self-effacement of the individual.

# CATHOLICISM IN ALASKA

RIGHT REVEREND J. R. CRIMONT, S. J., D. D.

## I. VANGUARD

ONE of the questions claiming the interest of the student of Catholic history in Alaska, pertains to the identity of the priests who first set foot on the shores of that vast Northland, and to the date of the Church's initial missionary activities; the solemn act of public worship, the preaching of the word of God, the administration of holy baptism and the planting of the Cross in a virgin soil.

This auspicious event, as far as known records reveal, took place on Ascension Day, May 14, 1779, on the southern end of Prince of Wales Island, Bay of Bucareli. Two Franciscan Fathers, John Riobo and his companion, Father Mathias, chaplains of the frigates Princesa and Favorita, accompanied Naval Lieutenant Don Ignatius Artega of the Spanish Armada, and Lieutenant Don Juan Francis dela Bodega y Cuadra, on a seven months' voyage of exploration along the coast of the extreme North Pacific Ocean. The expedition reached the waters of Prince William Sound and the vicinity of Resurrection Bay.

The taking possession of Alaskan Land as an accession to the Kingdom of Christ may have occurred at an earlier date, four years previously, in 1775, when with the Ionora Don Juan Francisco de la Quadra and Don Francisco Antonio Mourelle discovered the Bay of Bucareli and drew a map of it, a copy of which may be found at the University of Santa Clara, California.[1]

[1] "Historical Records and Studies," Vol. XII, June, 1918. United States Catholic Historical Society, New York.

The first efforts to Christianize Alaska in the South were made by Empress Catherine II, of Russia, who sent a band of eight Russian Orthodox priests. They reached Kodiak Island in the fall of 1794, in company with 200 convicts, fifty-three years after the discovery of the Aleutian Islands by Vitus Bering. In the North, following the establishment of Fort Yukon in 1847 by A. D. Murray of the Hudson's Bay Company, came ministers of the Church of England, the first on record being the Venerable Archdeacon R. McDonald. The honor of initial attempts at establishing Catholic missions belongs to the ever zealous members of the great and valiant Society of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate.

In 1862, Father Seguin made his way from the Mackenzie across the Rocky Mountains to Fort Yukon. There, side by side with the Reverend R. McDonald, he spent a painful Winter in mental suffering and physical privations due to the hostility of the personnel of the post. After an excursion to Nukloroyit in the Spring, he returned to the Mackenzie. His report of adverse conditions led his ecclesiastical superior, Bishop Faraud, to postpone the mission work on the Yukon. A decade was to elapse before the Master granted His zealous servants the desire of their hearts.

In 1870, the news had spread throughout the Canadian Northwest that the American Government had claimed its own, when Captain Charles P. Raymond had taken possession of Fort Yukon on behalf of the Treasury Department. This was the signal for Father Emile Petitot, O. M. I., to cross the boundary to ascertain the dispositions of the new possessors towards Catholic endeavor. The result of his voyage and investigations persuaded Bishop Faraud that the hour had come for winning the Alaskan tribes to the Catholic Faith. The harvest was ripe and the field promising. He accordingly entrusted the enterprise to his coadjutor, Bishop Isidore Clut. In the Summer of 1872, the

venerable prelate could be seen climbing up the pass of the Rockies with Father August Lecorre and a few faithful Indians, each with a pack on his back. After a one month journey, they arrived half starved and exhausted at the mouth of the Porcupine River on the Yukon. The new traders at Fort Yukon were sympathetic. The missionaries remained at the post seven months, learning the language and catechizing. In the latter part of May, we find the Bishop and his companion at the trading post of Nukloroyit on the high bank of the river, celebrating Pontifical Mass in the open air, in front of Francis Mercier's cabin, in the presence of several hundred natives, and all the whites, who were mostly Catholics. Proceeding down stream to Saint Michael, they stopped at every village to teach the adults and baptize the children. One hundred and sixteen were received into the fold.

The Bishop returned to the Mackenzie that year by the same way he had come, completing a voyage of between seven and eight thousand miles. Father Lecorre remained for the Winter to sow the seed of the gospel in the fresh soil. Nulato, Anvik, Saint Michael, Unalakleet and the Yukon delta were in turn the scene of his labors and sacrifices. In the Summer of 1874, he received letters advising him that Alaska had been assigned to the jurisdiction of Bishop Charles J. Seghers, of Vancouver Island, and directing him to choose between placing himself at his disposal or returning to his own missions. After considering the matter seriously, he embarked on the same vessel which carried Ivan Korgenikof, the Russian, to San Francisco for trial. This man was charged with the murder of several young Eskimos, and had plotted against the life of the priest himself.

In the decrees of God, the most glorious part of the foundation of Catholic Missions in Southern and Northern Alaska, was reserved to the saintly, scholarly and apostolic Archbishop Charles J. Seghers, who was born at Ghent,

Belgium, December 26, 1839. He was ordained at Mechlin, May 30, 1863, and from there went to Victoria. After laboring successfully for a few years, he was consecrated Bishop of Vancouver Island, on June 29, 1873. On December 10, 1878, he was appointed coadjutor to the Archbishop of Oregon and about two years later became Archbishop of Oregon City. On March 7, 1884, he returned to Victoria as Archbishop-Bishop of Vancouver Island.

Of rather delicate health, but of fiery zeal and indomitable energy, he set his heart on doing a giant's work for the Kingdom of Christ. How he succeeded in his short life of forty-seven years those who knew him can well appreciate, though the full extent of his achievements will be revealed only in the world to come.

As early as 1867, the year of the purchase of Alaska, Father Joseph Mandart, at the suggestion of Bishop Modestus Demers of Victoria, had taken a trip to the southeastern coast of the territory; hence this vast American empire of the North was ever in the thoughts of the clergy of Vancouver Island. Bishop Seghers had no sooner been consecrated and installed as successor to Bishop Demers than he turned his eyes towards Alaska and embarked in the beginning of August, 1873, to make a survey of its southern coast from Portland Canal to Unalaska. The scarcity of priests in his diocese prevented him from establishing missions at once, but he ever looked for an opportunity for reaching the northwestern portion of the vast territory open to his zeal. This opportunity came four years later. He and the Reverend J. Mandart sailed from Port Townsend for Saint Michael, on Norton Sound, which they reached on July 14, but failing to connect with the Yukon steamer, they were obliged to travel partly in canoe and partly on foot, via Unalakleet, over hills and across morasses to Kaltag, on the north side of the great river. They were still forty miles from Nulato, the village Bishop Seghers had chosen for his Winter camp. They at length

covered this distance, traveling on the boat of John Baudoin, a trader who had just reached Kaltag.

At Nulato they passed the inclement Winter in studying the language, instructing the natives and baptizing the children. Leaving Father Mandart at the headquarters for the greater part of the time, the Bishop made excursions by dog team to the Koyukuk, Ulukuk, Russian Mission, Nukloroyit, and even to the mouth of the Tanana. Having his assistant with him, he intended to ascend the river to its headwaters, visit the Copper Valley and thence return to Vancouver. He was dissuaded by Francis Mercier from undertaking this long and perilous journey for which it would have been impossible to procure sufficient food for men and dogs. When the ocean steamer made its annual voyage to Saint Michael in Summer, the two missionaries embarked for San Francisco.

In the meantime, Rome had transferred Bishop Seghers from the See of Vancouver Island to the Archiepiscopal See of Oregon as coadjutor with right of succession. Before setting out for Portland, he asked leave to arrange the affairs of his diocese and establish missions in Alaska.

On November 23, 1878, the prelate appointed the Reverend John Althoff, a young priest twenty-four years of age, recently arrived from Holland, as first resident missionary in Alaska. His headquarters were at Wrangell and he had jurisdiction over the whole Territory. In his choice for a task of such magnitude and importance, the Bishop had read aright the rare qualifications of his subject.

Archbishop Seghers for two years shared with Archbishop F. N. Blanchet the cares of the arch-diocese and carried alone the whole weight of its administration for the four years following, but never forgot his cherished hopes of the apostolate in the far Northland. On the occasion of a journey to Rome in 1883, he solicited and obtained from Leo XIII his release from the See of Oregon

and was reappointed to that of Vancouver Island that he might secure the evangelization of Alaska.

On July 13, 1886, the Archbishop set sail from Victoria with Fathers Pascal Tosi and Aloysius Robaut, two Jesuit priests, and a layman, Francis Fuller, who was accepted as a helper. The party touched Juneau on the morning of July 19, then proceeded to the headwaters of Lynn Canal and arrived at a Chilcat trading post whence the trail would lead them up the steep and narrow gorge of the Dyea to the famous Chilkoot Pass and on to the headwaters of the Yukon. Descending a chain of lakes and connecting streams, they stopped at the entrance of Lake Bennet to build a boat in which to continue the journey. On August 20, the Archbishop celebrated Mass in the open air and they started on the long and arduous journey, the prelate acting as pilot and his companions as oarsmen.

> After traversing 520 miles of what was then an absolute wilderness, they reached the first trading post on the Yukon known as Harper's Place, situated at the mouth of the Stewart River. It was September 7, and the Archbishop was most eager to reach Nulato, but as there were many Indians well disposed to receive instruction as well as a small camp of miners at Harper's Place, he decided to leave the two Fathers there with instructions to join him in the Spring. He set out with the paid assistant, Fuller, and two Indian guides, determined to make every effort to reach Nulato before the river closed. When well nigh worn out by privation, cold and fatigue, they succeeded in reaching the next trading post, Nukloroyit. This was as far as it was possible for them to continue owing to the danger of their boat being overwhelmed by the constantly increasing masses of drifting ice.[2]

A halt of six weeks, from October 4 to November 19, was made at this point, to give time for the water highway to change to a solid roadbed of ice on which the remainder of the journey could be effected by dog sledges. Then there soon developed by degrees a situation of ill omen for the Archbishop. Manifestly under sinister influence, Fuller

[2] Father Francis Barnum, S. J., in "Historical Records and Studies," Vol. XIII, May, 1919. The U. S. Catholic Historical Society, New York.

was becoming more and more suspicious, morose, contemptuous and violent, both in speech and conduct. One morning he picked up a rifle and levelled it against his master. His Grace, with calm courage, crossed his arms and advanced towards his wicked companion with a countenance so serene and smiling, that the frenzied man dropped the weapon in shame. However, the first act in the drama which was to have murder as a climax had been played. Hoping against hope, the Archbishop was determined to make Nulato timely enough for all purposes and to reach his beloved Indians, among whom in 1877-1878 he had laid the foundation of the Mission of Our Lady of the Snows. After fruitless efforts to persuade Fuller to winter at the post, he succeeded in enlisting the services of two natives. And so the Archbishop and his train left Nukloroyit with Fuller on one of the sleds.

> It was on a Friday evening when the party camped for the last time on the bank of the frozen river. They were then close to Nulato, which could easily be reached the next day. The spot where this last camp was made was at the base of a lofty point known as Yissetlatoh, but since named Bishop Mountain, which juts out from the north shore, close to where the Koyukuk enters the Yukon. The next morning, Fuller awoke very early, and taking up his rifle, he kicked the Archbishop and roughly ordered him to get up. Just as the Archbishop was rising from his couch, Fuller uttered a few words and pointed his gun at him. The good shepherd lifted his eyes to heaven, and crossed his arms on his breast in an attitude of meek resignation. The assassin fired the fatal shot. The bullet entered the heart and death was instantaneous. The two Indian guides were greatly terrified, expecting to be killed also, but Fuller told them not to fear, and the three men proceeded to Nulato. The sad event occurred on Saturday, November 27, 1886. The body was left bleeding on the river bank, just as it had fallen, so that the mighty artery of the land he loved so well received from the Archbishop's heart the crimson streamlet of his blood. Indians came from Nulato to take the remains of their murdered friend and apostle and brought it to Saint Michael. The following year they were taken to Victoria on the U. S. S. Thetis and buried in a vault under Saint Andrew's Cathedral.[3]

[3] Father Barnum, S. J., ibid.

To-day on the slope of the hill overshadowing the remnant of tableland at its foot and the rolling eroding waves below, may be seen a tall white iron cross, the gift of the Cœur d'Alene Indians of Idaho, as a memorial to the holy, heroic Archbishop.

Charles John Seghers had gone to the tribes of Northern Alaska to give them Christian truth; he gave them his lifeblood instead, but out of that blood as from a fecund seed there germinated and grew the tree of Catholic Faith, whose branches have begun to extend over the land and in whose foliage happy birds of Heaven are nestled singing praise to God and joy to earth.

## II. Tillers of the Field

Leaving their station at the mouth of the Stewart River, according to instructions received from their leader, the Jesuit Fathers, P. Tosi and A. Robaut, descended the Yukon in the Spring of 1887. At Fort Yukon they were apprised of the dismal tragedy of November 27. The intensity of their grief but aided them in perceiving that the founding of the Northern missions had cost the Church too dear to be abandoned. As a result of a conference at Saint Michael, Father Tosi, the senior of the two, sailed for the States to present the facts to his superiors and receive approval and reinforcement to carry out the project of evangelization. Father Robaut went to Anvik in July and to Nukloroyit in August. He was met there on September 21, by Father Tosi, who had returned by the Chilkoot Pass route, and was accompanied by Father A. Ragaru, S. J., and a Brother. The activities for the ensuing year were promptly planned and divided among the three workers. To the newcomer was assigned the task of initiating in the Faith the natives at Nukloroyit, and to Father Robaut, with the aid of the Brother, the work at Koserefsky, where he had already secured a house; Father Tosi assumed charge

at Nulato, where T. R. Baudoin, a Canadian, helped him to build a mission.

Father Ragaru threw into his labors the full enthusiasm of his French nature. In July, 1888, the steamer brought Father A. Ragaru and two carpenters, and on August 31, Father Tosi arrived with three Sisters of Saint Ann, a teaching congregation who have their motherhouse at Lachine, near Montreal, Canada. No building was ready to shelter them. Sister Mary Stephen, the superior of the Sisters, and her companions, were equal to the occasion. "We have not come for comforts but for hardships and labor," was their first utterance and on October 8, the valiant Sisters left their tent to occupy the log house erected for them.

Meanwhile, Nukloroyit was now inhabited by so many white men that it had ceased to be a favorable locality for an Indian Mission station and it was thought more advantageous to build up Nulato as a centre of activity, whence the other Yukon villages, including Nukloroyit would be visited at intervals. Father Ragaru and a new Father, therefore, pushed on the work at that place.

In 1889 two other priests arrived, the Reverend J. M. Treca, S. J., and a little later the Reverend P. Muset, S. J. This timely reinforcement enabled Father Tosi to start a mission for the Eskimos scattered along the coast of the Bering Sea below the Yukon. Tununa, on Nelson Island, had previously been selected as an advantageous position. This became the headquarters of the two new missionaries who had been classmates through the period of their priestly training. By their united efforts, the Church work made great progress, especially when the drudgery of cooking and general housekeeping was taken off their hands at the arrival, in the Spring, of a lay Brother.

In 1890, the mission welcomed the Reverend William Judge, S. J., of Baltimore, and a Brother. The qualifications of the former as a builder marked him out as a most

valuable assistant at Holy Cross, when, upon his arrival, the growth of the school necessitated a remodelling and enlarging of the buildings. His many-sided talents as well as his sterling virtue made him the idol of the children and of the older people, who christened him "the priest with a smile on his face." During the long Winter evenings it was his delight to turn the recreation hall into a concert room, in which he led the songs of the youngsters by the accompaniment of his flute, or encouraged the gifts of these musical artists by helping them to construct violins out of birch wood.

In the Summer of 1891, the Reverend Francis Barnum, S. J., one Brother and three Sisters, joined the busy band of apostolic workers. The linguistic talent of Father Barnum was put to service in the mission at Tununa, where he began his great work of an Innuit Grammar,[4] and his genial humorous nature made up for the bleak depressing atmosphere of the wilderness. The arrival of the Sisters at Holy Cross was greeted with an undisguised sense of relief and an outburst of joy as the original trio were heavily overworked.

In the month of March, 1892, Father Tosi visited Tununa; while there he decided that the Fathers should carefully explore all of the interfluvial tract extending between the Yukon and the Kuskokwim with the view to finding a site suitable for the erection of a school for the Eskimo children. True, the activities of the priests in that district had been rewarded by gratifying results, as was shown by the record of 416 baptized children and the enrollment of forty-five adult communicants; but their labors could never attain their full measure of success until a firm hold on the race was secured through the education of the young.

[4] Father Barnum's Grammar, which cost the author years of careful and assiduous labor, was published by the Athenæum Press.

The captain had said the word; gallant soldiers of the Cross, Fathers Treca and Barnum, under the most trying and ill-boding circumstances, searched for the desired site. They were subjected to the fury of the elements, the inhospitality of the land and the hazard of being carried adrift on a floe in the sea. An abundant source of fuel for Winter, supply of fresh water in Summer, good fishing the year round, shelter from the storms, convenient access by land and by sea for communication and for the conveyance of supplies; these were among the chief requirements and were not found in their aggregate in any one spot. Kanilik, on a secondary stream in the Yukon Delta region, seemed to combine some of the favorable features. Thither the missionaries moved their Tununa buildings. The new location had looked attractive as a Winter abode, but it proved unsuitable for Summer, as it was then discovered that an extensive mud-flat lay between the house and the channel of the river. The building was again taken apart the following year and floated around to the Akularak stream. There additional buildings were put up, and four Sisters having come down from Holy Cross, the second boarding school was started in September, 1894.

Yearly, new missionaries increased the forces of the Church. In 1892, the Reverend A. Parodi, S. J., and three more Sisters of Saint Ann came to the aid of the workers. In 1893, the Reverend Francis Monroe, S. J., two Brothers and again three Sisters accompanied Father Tosi on his return from a trip to Rome whither the interests of the missions had called him. In 1894, the Reverend J. R. Crimont, S. J., came to the field, and in 1895, the Reverend John Post, S. J. Father Monroe and Father Crimont successively were assigned to the school at Holy Cross and Father Post at Akulurak. The institution at Holy Cross had now attained a stage of development that made it a bee hive of activities of all sorts; and were it not for the check imposed on its forward movement by the stress of

poverty, from which it has never been able to liberate itself, it would have been then what it was ten years later, a model of its kind, with its extensive farm, cattle and horses, its dairy, its gardens, its steamboat, its saw-mill, its small hospital, its lightsome classrooms, its handsome little church, its cluster of neatly kept native houses, almost an apparition from Heaven amid the wastes of the wilderness.

On the feast of Pentecost, 1894, the Sacrament of Confirmation was administered for the first time at Holy Cross, Father Tosi having received from the Holy Father this faculty, among others, of performing the sacred rite. On July 17, of the same year, the Territory of Alaska, by a decree of Leo XIII, was raised to a Prefecture Apostolic, thus becoming autonomous as an ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Until then it had formed a part of the diocese of Vancouver Island. On July 24, 1894, Father Tosi was appointed Prefect Apostolic.

Two new stations were formed the same year. The first was on the Kuskokwim, under the patronage of Saint Ignatius Loyola, at the village of Ugharamut (Oraramute) between Kaltshak and the Russian Mission; to it Father Robaut was assigned as resident priest. The other station was for the whites at Forty Mile, and was put under the care of Father Judge, who had been toiling for two years at Nulato. However, as his services were needed on the lower Yukon in Summer, it was only the long Winter months that were to claim his devoted labors among the miners; but for two successive years his attempts at wintering at Forty Mile were frustrated, once because his sacramental wine supply was destroyed on the way, and again because low water on the Yukon prevented the steamboat from reaching the desired destination and forced it back to Winter quarters at Andraefsky, 200 miles from Saint Michael. Father Judge turned the disappointment into a blessing for the Indians. He gave his attention to the building of a station on the Shageluk Slough. He

erected there a chapel giving the station the name of the Sacred Heart. The structure was, in after years, taken to Pimute, an Eskimo village, twenty-seven miles below Holy Cross.

Father Tosi, in a trip undertaken February 15, 1895, explored the western part of the Seward Peninsula up to Port Clarence and on the Selawik River, having as companions an English doctor from Saint Michael and Mr. Engolstadt, the trader at Unalakleet. Several villages in that section asked for a resident missionary. Their desire could not be satisfied until years later when the discovery of gold attracted a host of miners and all classes of men in large numbers to the peninsula. The Catholics in the rising towns of Nome, Snake and Anvil had to be cared for by the Church, and the work among the natives of the district took its start from the occasion.

Father Tosi, in the Winter of 1896, was stricken with pneumonia, followed by temporary paralysis, and asked to be relieved of his office. On March 16, 1897, the Very Reverend J. B. Rene, then pastor of Juneau, was appointed to succeed him as Prefect Apostolic and regular superior of the missions. Father Tosi retired to Juneau, where he died January 4, 1898. He was in the sixty-first year of his age, and had spent thirty-three years in the Indian Missions.

The year 1897 saw Father Judge at Dawson. He had established himself at Forty Mile in the Fall of 1896, among the miners whose number had considerably increased. The great stampede to the wonderful mines of the Klondike, which were discovered in the latter part of the Winter, caused him to leave for the Canadian Yukon, in the wake of his migrating flock. He lost no time in securing lots in Dawson upon which he erected a church. Sickness developed; typhoid fever and pneumonia swept away a great number. Alive to the urgent need of the day, he spared no effort in putting up a building to serve as a

hospital. Before it was entirely completed, it was filled with sufferers and he devoted himself to nursing the sick. Night and day he was at their service, always cheerful and sympathetic. He slept in a corner of the ward so that at any moment's notice he might hasten to the patient who needed him.

The Alaska Mission had had its martyr of blood in the person of Archbishop Seghers; it was to have its martyr of charity in Father Judge. The strain of his excessive labors exhausted his delicate constitution. Already stricken with incipient pneumonia, he answered a sick-call in town. When he returned, he took to his bed from which he never arose. On January 16, 1899, he yielded up his saintly soul to God.

The Oblate Fathers and the Sisters of Saint Ann headed by the pioneer Sister of Alaska, Sister M. Zeno, took from the hands of Father Judge the heritage of zeal and charity. Dawson was on British ground; they rightly claimed their own, and all in their allotted sphere conspicuously did justice to the behests of their responsibility.

In the Summer of 1898, the mission was blessed with the arrival of three new Fathers, Julius Jette, S. J., J. L. Lucchesi, S. J., and J. Perron, S. J., who, in the designs of God were to signalize themselves by eminent services, each according to his gifts. Father Lucchesi had been president of a clerical seminary; Father Perron could have graced a chair of Divinity or Philosophy, and Father Jette, scholar and scientist, would have brought honor to any university. All preferred the glory of spending themselves in the service of the lowly ones of the Innuit and Ten'a races. After them came the Reverend C. Rossi, S. J., and the Reverend A. Keyes, who are still laboring among the natives, sowing the seed of the Gospel and gathering a rich harvest of sacrifices, of merits and of souls saved through their unrelenting labor.

In 1899, missions were established at Eagle, near the

boundary between Alaska and the Canadian Northwest, and at Saint Michael on Norton Sound. In the latter locality a handsome church was built in 1900, taking the place of the humble chapel of former years and was served successively by Fathers J. M. Treca, John Post, A. Keyes and R. Camille; the last named died at his post, a victim of an apoplectic stroke, and was succeeded by Father J. Chapdelaine. When this devoted worker retired, the Very Reverend J. B. Sifton, General Superior of the Northern Missions, fixed his residence at Saint Michael, and assumed the local work.

The Ursuline Nuns, under the leadership of Mother M. Amadeus, established at Saint Michael, the convent of Saint Ursula on the Sea, which was since destroyed by fire. Circumstances prevented them from carrying out all their plans for the natives at Saint Michael, but their hopes have been amply redeemed by the extent and success of their work at Akulurak and at the more recent foundation at Hot Springs, Pilgrim River, in the Seward Peninsula.

The School at Akulurak, under the able direction of the Sisters of Saint Ann, for a few years was suspended for reasons of administration by the Very Reverend J. B. Rene, and replaced by the opening, in 1899, of a school at Nulato, with Sister M. Stephen, and later Sister M. Winifred, as directress. However, the arrival of Mother M. Laurentia and her Ursuline companions, permitted the work to be resumed at Akulurak in 1905, and it has from that year progressed, not as extensively as the devotion and ability of the teachers deserved, but as successfully as the scanty resources of the mission and the ill-favored conditions of the soil, climate and surroundings allow. It is to the credit of the nuns that with so many discouraging drawbacks such splendid results have been obtained.

The prominent event of 1900, was the terrible epidemic which seems to have originated on the shores of Siberia and accompanied the importations of the reindeer from the

Siberian coast to the Alaskan side. It spread like fire, reaching the whole lower Yukon and Kuskokwim regions, decimating every village and sweeping away a number of them. No misfortune of such magnitude and of such destructive power had visited Alaska since the small-pox plague of 1837. The plague, according to the Reverend Zachar Belkoff, a Russian priest of mixed Aleut blood, who was a lad of sixteen at the time, was the voluntary and malicious act of Russians anxious to guard their posts from the often overpowering attacks of the natives. With these criminal traders it was a question of reducing the strength of the race by the simple process of extinction. In the epidemic of 1900, the missionaries all over the districts within their reach made herculean efforts to cope with the dreadful foe. New arrivals, among them Father Anthony Keyes, came to their rescue. Souls were saved, lives were saved; but the havoc was of a magnitude beyond estimate, and the scenes baffle description. A parallel can hardly be found in the epidemic of influenza which visited the world in recent years.

In 1901, missionaries were still suffering from depression at the thought of their blasted hopes for a Christian population, and at the loss of so many youths and promising homes, when they were brightened by the coming of the Very Reverend George de la Motte, S. J., Superior of the Rocky Mountain Mission. He was sent by the General of the Society of Jesus to make a survey of the situation and give encouragement to the work. This encouragement in its best feature was the sending of new forces. The new workers, besides lay-Brothers, were the Reverend Leopold Van Gorp, S. J., who was given the administration of the houses of the Order in the North, the Reverend J. M. Cataldo, the veteran arch-missionary of the Rocky Mountain Indians, and the Reverend J. H. Van der Pol, S. J., who was to prove himself a peerless leader in the religio-social building up of Nome. Nulato was entrusted to Father

Cataldo and Holy Cross to Father Van Gorp. From both, the development of these missions along all lines received a mighty impulse. At the same time, one spot on the south coast of the extreme Northwest was pulsating with life and motion and was attracting the attention of all Alaska and the United States.

From a city of tents in 1899, following the discovery of the precious metal in the sands of the sea shore, in October, 1898, Nome had leaped to a rank among the substantial towns of the frontier. It sheltered a motley community fairly provided with the essential conveniences and not a few of the supernumerary adjuncts of modern life. Slower in the coming than some other Christian denominations, the Catholic Church had not yet claimed her wonted place in their midst with her temples of worship, of mercy and of education. But when in the Summer of 1901, the Reverend Aloysius Jacquet, S. J., a sturdy missionary of the Pacific Northwest, appeared on the scene, she took her position as if it were by storm. On September 17, the residence of the priests was completed, the first Mass celebrated in the chapel on September 29, and the church dedicated on November 17, 1902. Father Cataldo left his Indian charges at Nulato to take care of the white congregation and to inaugurate the work among the Eskimos of the peninsula. Father Devine, of Montreal, soon came to share his labors with Father Cataldo, and Father Van der Pol assumed charge with Father Bellarmine Lafortune as his assistant.

The Sisters of Providence, of Montreal, Canada, took up their work of mercy in 1902. The following year they secured larger quarters and in 1905, as more space and more perfect equipment were demanded, they erected the modern hospital which still stands proclaiming in its silent loneliness the greatness of the work accomplished within its walls.

In 1904, the Eskimo converts had become numerous

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enough to require their own special house of worship, school and shop conveniences for their more perfect training both in religion and in the varied handicrafts from which they derive a considerable part of their support. To the staunch labors of Father Joseph Bernard, S. J., was due the foundation of a new mission at Mary's Igloo in November 1907. Father Post took charge of the place in 1918 and in 1919 erected the buildings to be used as an orphanage and school. In September, 1919, a band of five Ursuline Nuns reached that mission which is dedicated to Our Lady of Lourdes.

The rush of 1903 and 1904 to the gold-bearing creeks of the Tanana Valley gave rise to a mining camp with its municipal centre at Fairbanks on the Chena River. Eagle had so decreased in numbers and activities, despite the stronghold held there at Fort Egbert by the United States Troops, that it could spare the invaluable services of Father Francis Monroe for the new town. He arrived on the first day of July, 1904, with the Reverend J. R. Crimont, S. J., successor to the Reverend J. B. Rene, S. J., as Prefect Apostolic. The first Mass was celebrated on July 2, in the District Court Building with the attendance of the rejoiced colony of Catholics and friends. Father Monroe enriched the city with a substantial frame structure 65x30, embracing under one roof a church, a reading hall and library and living quarters for himself and companions. The church was open to public service on November 1. Then he erected Saint Joseph's Hospital, a building measuring 76x42 and three stories high above the basement. After several years of tentative administration, during which 1500 patients were treated, the Sisters of Providence came to take its management in October, 1910. It was under the direction of Sister Monaldi, who had already endeared herself to Alaska in building the new Holy Cross Hospital at Nome. Two years later, the church was moved across the frozen river to Garden Island, where it now stands, remodeled, side by side with the hospital.

Other notable successes were made with missions at Tanana, Kokrines, Ruby, Fort Gibbon, Juneau, Douglas, Ketchikan, Skagway, Valdez and Seward. In 1906, Father Julius Jette fixed his residence at Kokrines, where he bought the little church built by the Episcopalians, and changed the settlement into a Catholic mission. There, for a number of years, in the combined rôles of priest, physician, and government school teacher, he signalized himself by his all-embracing devotion, his most precious ethnographic contributions to scientific magazines, his incomparable work on the Ten'a language. On August 26, 1909, Father Hormisdas Ferron, S. J., took charge of the station at Tanana, where quite a little town had nestled near the Military Post. The Knights of Columbus, after the war, established an Educational and Recreational Centre for the United States soldiers at Fort Gibbon, and another at Haines for those of Fort Seward.

When the first Catholic colony came to Juneau at the mouth of Gold Creek, Gastineau Channel, in 1882, the "Miners' friend," Father John Althoff, who founded and served the church at Wrangell in the Winter of 1878-1879, said the first Mass for them on July 17, 1882, in what has long stood as a relic, the Log Cabin Church. He built the first church for the Catholics in the young settlement in 1885. This was replaced by a new edifice at the hands of the Reverend Edward H. Brown, S. J., in 1910. Encouraged by the prospects of stability and future importance of Juneau, Father Althoff, in 1886, asked for the Sisters of Saint Ann, who at once set themselves to hospital and school duty. In 1913, a splendid hospital, worthy of a city, superseded the more modest structures of 1886 and 1888. Father Aloysius Roccati, S. J., completed the group of handsome buildings on the Catholic block by the erection of the fine parochial school. Father Althoff, in September, 1895, in consequence of the order of Pope Leo XIII separating the Territory of Alaska from the diocese of Vancouver Island (Victoria),

retired from the field of his seventeen years of pioneer work, and members of the Society of Jesus inherited his missionary tasks, the Reverend John B. Rene, being his immediate successor at Juneau. However, Father Althoff, now pastor at Nelson, British Columbia, and Vicar-General to the Archbishop of Vancouver, still remains the idol of the old-timers in Gastineau Channel. The Summer of 1914 brought to Juneau a distinguished body of officers of the Knights of Columbus, who were welcomed with festal displays and friendly feelings by its appreciative inhabitants. In 1917, the Church in Alaska was honored in the appointment of the first episcopal head of its district jurisdiction in the person of the Right Reverend Joseph R. Crimont, S. J., an Alaskan since the Summer of 1894. The following year, March 30, witnessed the ordination at Juneau, of the Reverend G. Edgar Gallant to the holy priesthood. This was the first ordination in the Territory. He was made pastor of Saint Mark's, Skagway, in 1918.

In the fall of 1910, the missions of southwestern Alaska were entrusted to the Reverend J. H. Van der Pol. The first two years of his charge saw inaugurated a new era in the spiritual life of Valdez. Mother Amadeus Dunne, delegate-provincial of the Ursulines in Alaska, self-sacrificingly responded to his appeal, braving severities of weather and dangers of travel A convent was erected, spacious and commodious, and opened with over thirty little tots in the kindergarten in charge of Sister Helena, and some twenty music pupils divided between Mother Angela Lincoln and Mother Mary of the Angels, besides a score of select adult pupils taking language lessons from Mother Lincoln. But it was not in the decrees of Divine Providence that Valdez should reach the zenith of her aspirations. Today, with her streets desolate and a thin remnant of population still hoping against hope, Valdez sadly tells her visitors the story of her prospects ruined, and her ambitions well-nigh blasted.

In 1915, the step taken by the United States Government to open up Alaska by the construction of a railroad from Seward to Fairbanks was the occasion of a thronging of speculators, business men and workers at the town on Resurrection Bay and at the head of Cook Inlet. By favor of the Secretary of the Interior, Franklin C. Lane, and the good will of the officers of the Alaska Engineering Commission, a contract for the care of railroad patients was awarded to the management of the Seward Hospital. A picked band of five Sisters of Saint Joseph of Peace from Bellingham, Washington, with Sister Aloysius as superior, were welcomed. Day by day they devotedly and ably accomplished their task of nursing, healing, comforting the sick, edifying the people and aiding in the religious and civic activities. Then there came the flood of 1918-1919, with the heroic behavior of Sister Aloysius and Sister Stephany in trying to stem the waters, and save the integrity and serviceableness of Seward General Hospital. Not long after the grim epidemic of influenza appeared, Sister Aloysius multiplied her presence and her services, walking through snow and storms to attend the patients. As a result, she died in the Fall of 1920, at Bellingham, in the Provincial Motherhouse. The other Sisters in turn were disabled by sickness caused by their unceasing labor and had to be recalled for recovery.

## III. Fruitage

We have endeavored in the foregoing survey to outline in its broad features the work of the Catholic Church in Alaska. We have left unsaid many things of intrinsic interest, and needless to say, have left unmentioned numerous persons whose names, character, and achievements are deserving of recognition. It would be an impossible task to analyze the amount and worth of the missionary service given. However, it is expected that before bringing this account to a close we answer the question: "What returns,

both in quantity and in quality, can be shown for the sum of efforts expended?" This we shall now do succinctly.

The field of the Catholic Church in Alaska cannot boast a magnificent array of grand churches covering the land, though it has nothing for which to blush in comparison with the status of other denominations. Exclusive of chapels, it sustains twenty-two churches, some of which are real jewels of interior beauty and, from the standpoint of attendance, standard houses of worship. Nor can the Church congratulate itself that it has planted the cross in every hamlet of the tribes, or enshrined it in the heart of every native. The area of its action has been limited, by the scarcity of workers and the scantiness of means. Alaska is too far remote to win the same measure of support as an ordinary home mission, and at the same time too near to possess the lure which a foreign mission offers to generous souls. The apostolic work, furthermore, is not a question of individual enterprise; it is entrusted to a young province of a religious order in which the spirit is willing but the resources lacking, and the hands available for work greatly inadequate.

The peculiar features of the country have also necessarily affected the movement of the ministry and the measure of its results. The instability of the camps and towns, the drifting of the inhabitants, the sparseness of population, the nature of travel and its expense, the cost of living in the remoter regions, the poverty of the average man, all these and other circumstances being taken into account, it can be said that the fruitage of the Church has not been small, and that the effort has been repaid.

The Church can show its boarding schools for natives where solid work for the transformation of the race continues to be done; its day schools, those that are still satisfactorily fulfilling their mission as well as those that have done so in the past, in the years during which their existence was possible and justified; its Christian native com-

munities, which are swayed in their thoughts and habits by the tenets of their Faith, and whose people find in the faithful and devout practice of their religion an incentive for their strivings and a consolation in their woes; its hospitals, where recovery from sickness, comfort in pain, return to God under the lash of physical suffering, and spiritual salvation at death have been found and enjoyed by tens of thousands.

Could a pilgrimage be made to each of the eight Catholic hospitals in the Northland, and were it possible to revive all the scenes which have been enacted within their walls, what a display of heroism, what a splendor of Christian benefaction would be revealed to the pilgrim's eye! They have all produced their quota of blessings for the weal of the country, from the largest and most up-to-date in equipment, choice of staff and excellence of service, as at Nome, Juneau and Fairbanks, to the humblest establishment, at Eagle, where Father F. Monroe acquitted himself as manager, nurse, cook, and provider of financial support. This last was accomplished by his unwearied journeys on the creeks every Spring for six years, walking five or seven hundred miles with a heavy pack on his back. Such deeds as these, performed for God and fellow-man, are in themselves a rich fruitage; for though they have passed in action, they abide in their potentiality as a force that cannot be lost in the realm of things spiritual, even as no force can be lost in the physical realm of God's creation.

For such as have the eye of vision to look into the worth of results of a moral and spiritual nature, many pictures could be presented exemplifying what the Church has obtained, in matter of fruitage, from the raw material of untutored natives. The Gospel in action in the lives of the converts won to Catholic Christianity is assuredly a sight beautiful to behold.

If you desire to realize more clearly what hold the Christian spirit has taken in these native children of bleak

Alaska, and to what ideals of living it is lifting them, visit two houses of our Catholic Sisterhoods in the States. There, among the daughters who are enamored with "the beauty of the King," your eye will discover and easily recognize the four young women, two of pure Indian blood, two of mixed blood, who have heard, pondered over, and answered the call of the Master: "If thou wilt be perfect, come and follow Me." The dedication of one's life to the pure service of God and of man in the practice of the counsels of perfection, is the flower of Christianity. Such a life embraces all that is highest in the Gospel. The consecrated virgin who lives up to her sublime vocation attains a beauty before which the world must bend in reverence. She is the pearl of great price. . . The Catholic Church in Alaska has begun to produce that pearl. Therefore the fruitage of the Church's labors in that Northland is a rich one.

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